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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN-IRAQ WAR DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 82 pp 4-5

[Article by Yuan Shiyin [5913 0013 0995]: "Where is the Iran-Iraq War Heading?"]

[Text] The Iran-Iraq war has already lasted for 1 year and 9 months. Since March 1982 there have been conspicuous changes in the offensive and defensive situation on the battlefield. Since Iran recaptured Khorramshahr on 24 May, it has by and large recovered all of its lost territory. Only a narrow belt of land near Qasr-e-Shirin remains in Iraqi hands. At present everyone's concern is: Can the Iran-Iraq war be stopped? Will Iran push the war into Iraqi territory, thereby expanding or even internationalizing the conflict?

Since the beginning of the war, Iraq has passed through the stages of attack, deadlock, and retreat, while Iran has passed through the stages of defense, deadlock, and counterattack. At present Iran has the upper hand on the battlefield. At the beginning of the war Iraq seemed to be assured of victory, but afterward the situation took a turn for the worse. Of course, there is more than one reason for this. However, in international opinion the principal reasons are that the troops were exhausted by the campaign, that Iraqi morale declined with each passing day as the war was prolonged, and that mistakes were made by the military command. Iran, on the other hand, had the slogan of defense of the country, and enjoyed relatively good morale and a relatively efficient military organization.

At present, although both sides are worn out, they still have not completely exhausted their strength. Both still have the power to continue fighting. Since the external situation is no longer the same, the attitudes of the two sides toward peace talks have changed. Iraq's appeals for peace talks have greater urgency. The withdrawal of troops is no longer an issue for Iraq, nor does Iraq continue to insist on the demands made in 1980 when it dispatched its troops. The declared purpose in dispatching troops was to "contain Iranian expansionism." Now, "this goal has already been achieved." Iran is doing well militarily, has a large force bearing down upon the border, and has the initiative. Therefore its conditions for peace talks are relatively stringent. Besides adhering to its three original conditions--withdrawal of troops, determination of guilt, and reparations--Iran has also put forward the overthrow of Saddam Hussan as a condition for ending the war. The amount of reparations

demanded has also been increased. Iran originally demanded \$50 billion, but this has recently been raised to \$150 billion. Under these circumstances it is difficult to find a plan which both sides can accept even though various parties continue to try to mediate.

If the war continues, will Iranian forces cross the border? This is, of course, a question which can only be answered by the Iranian leaders. In April 1982 Khomeyni indicated that Iranian troops would not cross the border. However, Shirazi, the Iranian Army commander, has said that the liberation of Khorramshahr on 28 May is only the first step toward the celebration of final victory in the holy city of Karbala. Everybody knows that Karbala is in the interior of Iraq. Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian Majlis, has said: "The Iranian people will not stop at the border forever." According to the British periodical FOREIGN REPORT, the Iranian authorities decided as early as March that Iran "would not plan on occupying Iraqi territory, but might temporarily cross the border for military purposes."

In any case, before the Iranian authorities come to a decision, they must not only consider whether or not Iran has the capacity to fight a war beyond its borders, but must also face two further problems. The first is that upon entering Iraqi territory their troops may encounter the same conditions that Iraqi troops encountered in Iran: the patriotic fervor of a native population defending its home and country. Another problem is the reaction of other concerned countries--especially the Arab countries. So far, Syria and Libya have openly supported Iran. However, if Iranian troops were to advance into the territory of an Arab country, Syria and Libya would have to rethink their attitudes. Qadur, Syrian assistant minister of foreign affairs, has already publicly declared that Syria will not support Iran if Iranian troops advance into Iraq. The Gulf states and Jordan have worried all along that Iran might export its Islamic revolution. They have supported Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war, and will not, of course, tolerate an Iranian advance into Iraq. Saudi Arabia and Jordan are positively encouraging the Arab countries which support Iran to urge Iran to adopt an attitude of restraint. The Saudi minister of defense has said: "We cannot allow Iraq to be defeated. Nor can we allow it to defeat Iran." Some foreign observers believe Egypt's attitude will be very important in determining whether or not the Iran-Iraq war will be internationalized. If Egypt does not intervene, then the other Arab countries, even if they want to intervene, will not have the necessary military power. Up until now Egypt has supplied Iraq with arms, munitions, and rear area support, but it has no intention of getting directly involved in the Iran-Iraq war.

It is worth noting that Israel has tried to exploit the Iran-Iraq war. Israeli Defense Minister Sharon disclosed that Israel has sold approximately \$25 million worth of munitions to Iran during the Iran-Iraq war. Although the Iranian Government denies that it is carrying on a secret arms trade with Israel, Middle East observers generally believe that Israel regards Iran as more important from a strategic point of view than Iraq, which is hostile to Israel. Therefore Israel is trying to use the traditional hostility between Iran and Iraq to weaken Iraq, in order to augment its own superior position in the Middle East region and further its struggle to suppress the Palestinian people. With its recent large-scale invasion of Lebanon, Israel is obviously taking advantage of an opportune moment when the attention of many countries is directed toward developments in the Malvinas war and in the Iran-Iraq war.

In evaluating the trends in the Iran-Iraq war, the activities of the two super-powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, cannot be overlooked. The influence exercised by the Soviet Union and the United States upon Iran and Iraq is limited, and they have already lost the power to control the situation. Nevertheless, they want to exploit the difficulties and the contradictions between Iran and Iraq in order to gain something for themselves. The Soviet Union looks upon Iran as the key to opening the front door of the Gulf region. Reportedly a steady stream of Soviet-made weapons has been pouring into Iran through other countries. Soviet-Iranian trade is also expanding. However, at the same time it is maintaining relations with Iraq on the basis of a "treaty of friendly cooperation," and is also supplying some weapons to Iraq. The Soviet Union is attempting to make both Iran and Iraq dependent on it, and to use this opportunity to extend its influence in the Middle East and strengthen its position in the struggle with the United States. The United States is worried that an Iranian victory would endanger the security of the friendly oil-producing states in the Gulf region, thereby endangering its petroleum and strategic interests. However, as U.S. newspapers point out, the U.S. Government believes that "there is nothing to be gained by stepping in to help Iraq," and that "from a strategic point of view, the United States still believes that Iran is the key country in the region. The U.S. Government hopes to keep the Iranians from going completely over to the Soviet side." Thus, the United States also wants to use the situation of the Iran-Iraq war to increase its influence in the Gulf.

To sum up, the Iran-Iraq war has caused both sides to expend huge amounts of manpower and incur material losses. It has increased divisions among the Arab countries. This is bad for the future of both countries, bad for the struggle against Israeli expansionism, and bad for the struggle against hegemony. At present, Iran and Iraq have restored the prewar border situation. This is an excellent opportunity to end the "brothers' quarrel." We hope that both sides will be able to take a broad view and resolve their differences and disputes through negotiations on a basis of fairness and reasonableness, bringing the Iran-Iraq war to an early conclusion.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS, TEXTBOOK 'DISTORTION' VIEWED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Liu Danian [0491 1129 1628]: "History Is a Great Teacher--Commemorating the 37th Anniversary of Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan"]

[Text] Summary: The total war of aggression launched by Japanese imperialism against China inflicted the most serious calamity on the Chinese nation in all the recent history of imperialistic aggression in China. Semi-colonial and semifeudal China was very backward, economically and militarily. If it finally won victory over the capitalist and militarily strong Japan, the fundamental reason was that the war of aggression unleashed by Japan was an unjust war and that the war of resistance fought by the Chinese people against Japan was just. The victory of the Chinese revolution changed the position of China. The aggression and humiliation suffered by the Chinese nation became history of the past, never to return again.

Recently, the Japanese Ministry of Education used the opportunity of a textbook revision to commit a distortion of history by changing the term "aggression" into "entry." This is the logic of undisguised imperialist aggressors, and it naturally incurred the violent opposition from the peoples of China and Japan.

China's anti-Japanese war of liberation was a great heroic and earthshaking undertaking by the Chinese nation. Since the great victory in the war of resistance against Japan, 37 years have quickly passed. Today we commemorate that victory and later generations will continue to commemorate it. The anti-Japanese war is an important event not only in Chinese history, but also in Japanese history. A few days ago, the Japanese MAINICHI SHIMBUN published an article entitled "The Textbooks Make Us Think: History Is a Great Teacher," which very much throws light on the thinking of the writer, namely that the two countries, China and Japan, and the two peoples can, and moreover must, certainly learn an extremely important lesson from the history of the Sino-Japanese war.

The total war of aggression that Japan launched against China inflicted the most severe calamity on the Chinese nation in all the recent history of imperialist aggression in China. Japan dispatched an army of 1 million men, which was 8 or 9 times the number Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan and the United States had sent to China in various invasions since the Opium War. The war of resistance lasted 8 years, almost as long as the total of all aggressive wars by foreign powers against China within 100 years. Half of China's vast population and territory came under enemy occupation; most of its richest and most populous areas were occupied. Thousands and tens of thousands of Chinese lost their lives in the fighting. Japanese militarism harbored wild ambitions of turning all of China with one stroke into a colony under the exclusive occupation of Japan. They loudly proclaimed time and again: "China will be destroyed in 3 months" and "China will be destroyed in 6 months." Some Chinese who yielded under the pressure of the invaders or who had lost national self-confidence, especially those in power in the Kuomintang, also agreed that China "is bound to be destroyed in its war of resistance" and that "further fighting will lead to utter destruction," but the final outcome was not China's destruction, but the unconditional surrender of Japan. The two countries, China and Japan, and the two peoples can learn many things from this great teacher, history, of which the most important item would be how the Chinese nation awakened and what the path should be on which Japan should advance in future.

The foundation on which this situation could arise that a semicolonial and semi-feudal China, an economically and militarily backward country, could win final victory over capitalist and militarily strong Japan was the awakening of the Chinese nation. In 1874 Japan first staged an invasion of Taiwan and demanded an indemnity from China. Later Japan launched the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 and compelled the Qing government to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which lopped off the Chinese territory of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. In 1900 Japan joined the 8-power allied force to suppress the Boxer movement. The total indemnity that the Qing government had to pay amounted to 450 million taels. In 1915 Japan presented the 21 Demands and seized much of China's political and economic rights. In 1931 Japan fabricated the "Mukden Incident," occupied China's Northeastern Provinces and set up "Manchukuo." In the long period of 60 years, Japan never stopped its armed aggression and political oppression against China, and everytime Japan got what it wanted; why was that so? Because the Chinese people at that time had not yet truly organized its strength and was internally divided and scattered. The regimes that Japan had contact with, the Qing government, the northern warlords, the Chiang Kaishek regime, were dictatorships of the landlord class or jointly of the landlord class and the comprador class; they were tools of imperialism that suppressed the Chinese revolutionary people. Chiang Kaishek's policy of "domestic pacification first and resistance against foreign aggression thereafter," a policy of nonresistance against Japanese aggression, was epitomizing their political attitude and constituted the formula for dealing with foreign aggression. In the 60 years preceding the war of resistance, the reason why Japanese imperialism could be successful in every instance of its aggression against China--Japan's appetite growing bigger and bigger--was precisely that it linked up with the Chinese reactionary ruling class in their treasonable surrender of the national consciousness. It was different with the anti-Japanese war of resistance.

Since the Opium War, innumerable revolutionary martyrs and people with lofty ideals, had poured out their blood to nurture the spirit of national rejuvenation, exerting themselves in this great effort for almost 100 years. Japanese militarism was in a way of assistance in that its brutal policies aroused the patriotism of most Chinese of all classes and strata in a nationwide resistance against national enslavement. Under the leadership and stimulation of the CPC, the Kuomintang and the communists agreed for a second time to cooperate, and the whole country became united in its resistance against Japan with an unprecedented awakening taking place throughout the Chinese nation. Comrade Mao Zedong at that time emphatically pointed out: "China has a bourgeoisie and a proletariat, an awakened or awakening population, has a communist party, has a politically advanced military, namely the Chinese Red Army under the leadership of the communist party, has decades of revolutionary tradition and experiences, especially the experiences of the last 17 years since the establishment of the CPC. These experiences have taught the Chinese people, taught the Chinese political parties and have now become the foundation of our unity in the resistance against Japan." The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army under the leadership of the CPC played a leading role on the battlefield, the more so the longer the war lasted. The Japanese were now no more meeting up with the weaklings of the past who would prostrate themselves before the enemy at every turn. Now standing firm as rock before them as their opponents were the more than 400 million Chinese burning with fury in their unbending resolution to resist and fight. Japan had a modern-equipped huge army of over 1 million men which was able to gain single victories on the battlefield, but could not blunt the fighting will of the Chinese people, so that in the end China gained a great victory and Japan was utterly defeated. Here, history tells us: The Chinese people have awakened and its inestimably huge strength has become activated. The CPC is the leader and impelling force of that strength. The people who had suffered oppression, enslavement and spiritual confinement have now risen up. What had been impossible to achieve by the sacrifice and struggle of past generations has now become possible. The people and the country were now under the leadership of the CPC; the people continuously gain in self-consciousness and exert themselves in hard struggle. This will enable them to win victory over all kinds of serious calamities and difficulties and ensures magnificent prospects for the country.

The main reason for Japan, a first-rate economic and military power of the world, to be finally utterly defeated by extremely weak China and its allies is that it had engaged in an unjust war of aggression, that it went against the historical trend and violated the basic interests of the Japanese people. Beginning at the time of the Meiji Restoration, Japan instituted a capitalist reform and shortly thereafter its ruling classes urged the people on into a desperate pursuit of becoming one of the first-rate powerful countries of the world and "the hegemon of the East." From war to war, from expansion to expansion, it went on without respite, a condition comparable in history perhaps only with Tsarist Russia. Japanese militarism indeed had realized its dreams for a time. Apart from occupying large tracts of Chinese territory, they staged the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and followed it up by invading the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Burma, New Guinea and other places. The "awe-inspiring military exploits" were unexcelled in the

world, but before long the militarists fell off the high pagoda of their achievements right down in a straight line. They covered China and the other countries of Asia with darkness, and while inflicting their sanguinary calamities, they also spread a dark cloud over their own country, causing it a sanguinary calamity. According to Japanese statistics the losses of the Japanese armed forces between 1931 and 1945 amounted to about 2.3 million killed and at least 70,000 to 80,000 civilians killed in air raids and other military calamities. Many cities were reduced to rubble, and the country itself occupied by the U.S. army; Japan was on the verge of becoming an American dependency. It was precisely as one Japanese historian described it: Toward the end of the 19th century, in one corner of East Asia, there shot up like a comet on to the international stage the only modern imperialist state of that area, the Greater Japanese Empire, but from 1875 on, when it made the Chinese territory of Taiwan its colony, it lasted for half a century and then vanished again like a comet. Being one of the five or three most powerful states of the world, that they talked about, amounted to nothing but a "Golden Millet Dream." This then was the fate of the Japanese empire that had swelled up by sacrificing its neighbors. The great teacher, history, tells us here in a loud voice: the collapse of imperialism and the advance of mankind toward socialism is the main current along which world history moves forward. The rulers of Japan intended to develop their own interests by sacrificing the very existence of China and the other Asian countries; this road is definitely not a passable road. The only road that can lead Japan to a flourishing development, to prosperity and strength is to stand together with the anti-imperialist forces of the world and go the road of independence, democracy and peace.

However, people don't treat history in such a simple manner as when students directly take down whatever the teacher instructs them. Oh no, as soon as something that history would teach us does not fit in with what certain people see as the demands of their own interests, they will try hard to distort the facts, to make us forget certain facts, and then introduce furtive imitations. Handiwork of this type was done by the Japanese Ministry of Education when it revised the textbooks and changed "aggression" against China into a term that, as they say, was not an "implied value statement."

The aggression by Japanese imperialism against China is borne out by ironclad evidence! Mencius once said: If brutal rulers commit sinful crimes, "they will be styled 'The Dark' and 'The Cruel' and though they may have filial sons and kindhearted grandsons, they will not be able in a hundred generations to change the designation." The fact of the aggression by Japanese imperialism against China no one will be able to change or annul in no matter how many generations. It is only that the perpetrators of the aggression are no more called "The Dark" and "The Cruel," but are rather called fascists! The nature of the Sino-Japanese war has already been acknowledged for a long time, why should the Ministry of Education suddenly try to revise the textbooks?

It is generally considered a characteristic of the Japanese historical development that more often than not it is not the masses that rise from below and at one stroke topple the old institutions and the old society when it has

degenerated beyond retrieval, but that it is a section of the ruling class or an intermediary class that effects the reforms from the top downward. It is they who suppress any revolution that might move upward from the lower strata, and it is they who gradually effect the change to new institutions and a new society. Frequently, elements of the old forces remain preserved in the new society. The transition from the slave-owning system to the feudal system occurred in this way and it was the same when the feudal society changed to a capitalist society. Under the occupation of the U.S. army after World War II, the same happened with the demilitarization and democratic reforms.

The American monopoly bourgeoisie was extremely fearful of the growing strength of the Japanese people and afraid that a so-called "communist revolution" would break out in Japan. They were therefore particularly supportive of the old forces and eager to make use of them. The Japanese big bourgeoisie received protection, even some of the "purged" war criminals could stage their comeback after a short while and again wield political power. During the 30-odd years since the end of the war, the old forces of Japan seem to have danced through a kind of trilogy. First they declared themselves to be reborn as a "peaceful country," later they were the great commercial country and finally in the third part they are preparing to become once more a "great military nation," which means that they are sounding the bugle call for a revival of militarism. The answer to the question, why the Ministry of Education suddenly revised the textbooks, is explained by this trilogy. Some powerful and influential figures, who firmly support the Ministry of Education in its distortions of the history of aggression, have reasoned as follows: "At the time when Japan 'entered' the other countries, the term 'aggression' was not used. If we now describe the 'entry' as an aggression, it would distort the facts; our children might say their forefathers did bad things and these children would then lose their respect for their forefathers." Or they would argue that Japan's "entry" into China was "demanded" by the circumstances of the time. There can be no misinterpretation of their intentions. First, if the Japanese army forces its way into another country and even violates the foreign country's sovereignty and commits atrocities equal to those of Hitler and Mussolini, they must not be reproached for such actions or incur censure, as long as the term "aggression" was not used by them--they may perhaps have called it something like "entry." If such "entries" were possible in the past, it would of course be possible in future to "paint a gourd laddle like a gourd" [copy in identical form] and act exactly as in the previous case. Second, if we are not to say that "the forefathers did bad things," it would amount to saying that it was a "good thing" that Japanese militarism invaded China!

This is precisely upholding what the textbook revisors want to say and to uphold what they pretend these actions to have been. As to what constitutes good things and bad things, the doctrines of the militarists are diametrically opposed to the stand and views of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. Third, the contention that the "entry" into China was "demanded" by Japanese circumstances, allow me to say frankly, is the undisguised reasoning of imperialist aggressors. In this matter of textbook revision, which aroused such violent reactions in China, Japan and Asia, the question people are obviously concerned about is not primarily the terminology, but rather the way certain people presently in authority are leading the next generation of Japanese and the way they are leading Japan!

It is true, under certain circumstances history can repeat itself. World history is not short of examples of this nature. Those who advocate revival of Japanese militarism are perhaps for this reason placing their stakes on this possibility. They must be, precisely as expressed in the above-quoted MAINICHI SHIMBUN article, people who during their student years had to do some excessive "mechanical memorizing," and therefore never acquired the ability to observe history. From the end of the Sino-Japanese war to today, tremendous changes have occurred in China, Japan and in the world. Above all China, in the wake of its victory over Japanese imperialism and led by the communist party, also having passed through a war of liberation of over 3 years, finally overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, gained a great victory in its democratic revolution and established the People's Republic of China. From this time on the Chinese people have stood up and become masters of their own state. We have successfully realized the great transformation from a new people's democracy to socialism. China, with a population that accounts for almost one-quarter of the world population, entered into a completely new historical era of a socialist society. This constitutes a great leap in Chinese as well as in East Asian history and brought about a basic change in the ratio of socialist to capitalist forces in the world. We assert that today's China is no more the backward China that always took a beating, and everyone knows that this is no empty talk.

Changes in Japan after World War II have also been most remarkable. These changes, like the agrarian reform, separation of the Shinto cult from the state, abolition of the divine status of the emperor, etc., have seriously weakened the economic and political base of militarism. The democratic demands and democratic movement of the people reached a high pitch at one time or the other. In 1960 the masses opposed the revision of the Security Treaty and stopped the U.S. President Eisenhower from visiting Japan. The Japanese people have reason to be proud of their own strength. In unison with this struggle for a free democracy, a thorough change has occurred in the awareness of the masses and the intellectuals of the nature of the Sino-Japanese war. In his book "Post-War History of Japan," Inoue Kiyoshi, a historian well known for the great courageous spirit displayed in his science, says: "The post-war history must start out from a complete condemnation of the "Greater East Asia War," and must seek to establish a stand that will not allow militarism and imperialism to become once more rampant in Japan. Where are we to build this stand--only by building this viewpoint can a correct understanding be gained." This does not express the opinion of a minority, but voices the innermost sentiments of the Japanese working masses and intellectuals. The situation in the other countries of Asia is also different from the past. The countries that had been reduced to colonial and semicolonial state are now well developing. They will in future assist Japan in going the road of independence, democracy, peace and prosperity and will be a huge restraining force against any revival of militarism. Conditions and circumstances have changed, the direction in which the objective things develop has changed, in the face of the realities of today's world, what heroic brave man could possibly reenact the history of an invasion of China by Japanese militarism and the establishment of its hegemony in East Asia?

Equality and mutual benefit, good-neighborliness, mutual goodwill and solid friendship must be built on the foundation of facts. We oppose a coverup of the fact of Japanese militarism having committed aggression against China, and we do so precisely for the purpose of safeguarding Sino-Japanese relations and the banner of future friendship between the peoples of these two countries for generations to come.

The proletariat is very broadminded and in questions of relations between states and nations by far more perspicacious than the bourgeoisie. We oppose bourgeois nationalism and do not recognize that there is any national enmity divorced from class content. A few years ago I discussed with Japanese historians the question "there is no everlasting enmity between countries," that is mentioned by Chinese sages of antiquity. At that time I pointed out: If the ruling class of one country or nation oppresses or invades another country or nation, or brazenly destroys the country of another people or occupies its territory, concludes unequal treaties and turns that country into a dependency, colony or semicolonial state, the consequences will immediately be national ill feeling and national hatred. Such was the relationship between China and Japan before the end of World War II. As long as aggression and oppression existed, national hatred lasted. Speaking of the oppressed classes of China, the masses, there was indeed a persistent hatred, but the objective circumstances of the class struggle changed and the condition of hatred or non-hatred also changed correspondingly. A similar example is the present relationship between China and Japan. The victory of the Chinese revolution changed the position of the Chinese people, justice is reinstated, aggression and humiliations suffered by the country and the people are past history, never to return. The fundamental interests of the peoples of China and Japan demand the establishment of normal, good-neighborly and friendly relations, and such relations have indeed already been established. For the Chinese people the old saying "there is no ever-lasting enmity between countries" has assumed a new significance at this time.

Even if the long-term future relations between China and Japan should experience minor diversions, stagnations and tortuous roundabout ways, they will in the end defy all obstructions and advance according to the new historical trend. To my discourse at that time I have only to add one thing: It is possible that the old forces that move against the trend of history could one day bring about a serious retrogression in the normal relations between China and Japan, but that could only be temporary, because the future history belongs to the people and the future history of Sino-Japanese relations belongs to the peoples of China and Japan. As we review the past and think of the future, 37 years after our victory in the war of resistance against Japan, we can believe in this statement with absolute confidence!

9808

CSO: 4005/1251

PARTY AND STATE

OPINIONS OF DRAFT CONSTITUTION AIRED AT SHANGHAI MEETING

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Yu Wenqing [0060 2429 3237]: "Discussion of the Revised Draft of the Constitution--The Municipal Political Consultative Conference Convenes a Meeting--Various Opinions Expressed as Everyone Speaks His Mind"]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon (the 29th), the committee members of the National Political Consultative Conference in Shanghai and the vice chairman and the first and deputy secretaries of the Shanghai Municipal Political Consultative Conference and those in charge of each democratic party carried out an intense discussion of the "Revised Draft of the Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference."

Everyone expressed opinions on the matter of the nature and position of the people's political consultative conferences. Zhou Gucheng [0719 6253 1004], a member of the standing committee of the National People's Political Consultative Conference and committee chairman of the Municipal Agricultural-Industrial Democratic Party, said that the political consultative conference is a political consultative organ which can offer criticisms and suggestions concerning the work of the party and the government and where differing opinions can be aired and everyone can have his say. Zhao Zukang [6392 4371 1660], vice chairman of the Municipal Political Consultative Conference and committee chairman of the municipal People's Revolutionary Committee held that the people's consultative conference is not an organ with power, but is a political consultative, democratic supervisory and specialized advisory consultative organ which will play an important role in the construction of the "two civilizations" and the realization of the "three great tasks." Yang Huanwu [2799 1357 2976], vice chairman of the Municipal Political Consultative Conference, said that the features of the people's representative congress and those of the political consultative conference are different, that their functions are not completely the same and that it is best that each perform its own functions. Xu Guomao [1776 0948 2021], a member of the National Political Consultative Conference and deputy committee chairman of the municipal People's Revolutionary Committee said: the revised draft of the political consultative constitution has placed great value on democratic parties, greatly encouraging us and giving us confidence in doing party work.

Many committee members thought back on our nation's history and their individual experiences, saying with a deep emotion that the people's consultative conference has done a great amount of important work in the political and

social life of our nation. And in the future it will continue to play an important role. The committee members also offered some opinions concerning revisions in the revised draft of the political consultative constitution.

The vice chairman of the Municipal Political Consultative Conference and those in charge of each democratic party participated in yesterday's meeting.

9705

CSO: 4005/1257

PARTY AND STATE

DRAFT OF REVISED CPPCC CHARTER DISCUSSED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 82 p 2

[Report: "Provincial CPPCC Standing Committee Holds 21st Session; Studies and Discusses 'Draft of CPPCC Charter'"]

[Text] The 3-day 21st session of the Standing Committee of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC came to a close yesterday afternoon. The session conveyed, studied, and discussed the "Draft of the Revised Charter of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference."

During the session, Cao Xiangqu [2580 3276 3255], deputy secretary general of the provincial CPPCC, reported on the situation at the 19th session of the Fifth National Committee of the CPPCC. The session divided into various groups and seriously studied and enthusiastically discussed the "Draft of the Revised CPPCC Charter." The participants were all relatively satisfied with this draft; at the same time they pooled their thoughts, expressed their opinions freely, and put forward not a few proposals and suggestions. After summing up these modifying opinions of the provincial CPPCC Standing Committee members, the provincial government is to submit them before the end of September to the CPPCC Charter Revision Committee.

Mao Qihua [3029 7871 5478], chairman of the provincial CPPCC, presided over the session. Provincial CPPCC Vice Chairmen He Kexi [0149 0344 1585], Zhu Zhiguang [2612 0037 0342], Chen Li [7115 4539], Cai Bao [5591 1027], Wu Youxin [0702 0642 2450], Jiang Ximing [3068 1585 2494], Cui Dengbo [1508 2639 0130], Peng Ruilin [1756 3843 2651], Zhou Chunhui [0719 2504 2547], He Zhibin [0149 1807 2430], and Feng Ti [7458 2748] attended the session.

The CPPCC National Committee members in Zhejiang, responsible persons of the organs at the provincial level, responsible persons of various municipalities and counties, and responsible persons of various democratic parties and groups, the commerce and industry association, and provincial association of overseas Chinese, as well as the Taiwan provincial association, were present at the session.

9255

CSO: 4005/1245

PARTY AND STATE

DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF CPPCC DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Discussion on Amending 'Revised Draft of the Chinese People's Political Consultation Conference Constitution.' Municipal CPPCC Standing Committee Decides To Organize CPPCC Committee Members"]

[Text] Yesterday (24 July), the 5th Session of the standing committee of the municipal CPPCC held its 22d meeting to convey the spirit of the 19th meeting of the national CPPCC's standing committee's 5th session and to discuss the "Revised Draft Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultation Conference."

The meeting was chaired by Zhang Chengzong [1728 2110 1350], vice chairman of the municipal CPPCC. Also attending along with municipal CPPCC standing committee members were Vice Chairmen Li Gancheng [2621 1631 2052], Jing Renqiu [7231 0117 4428], Lu Yudao [4151 0060 6670], Liu Liangmo [0491 5328 2875], Wang Zhizhong [3769 5268 0022], Yang Xuanwu [2799 1357 2976], and Xu Wensi [6079 2429 1835]. Invited to attend in Shanghai as nonvoting delegates were national CPPCC committee members and leading cadres from each democratic party of this city as well as each district and county CPPCC.

Zhou Gucheng [6650 6253 1004], national CPPCC standing committee member, conveyed the spirit of the 19th meeting of the national CPPCC standing committee's 5th session. Under discussion at the meeting was the "Revised Draft Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultation Conference," and those who gave speeches were Chen Mingshan [7115 6900 3790], Xie Guanghua [6200 0342 5478], Xu Yifang [1776 0110 2658], Sang Hu [2718 1721], Ma Renbin [7456 0086 2430], Dong Yinchu [5516 1377 0443], Zhong Zhengzhai [6988 2973 7872], Chen Linxiang [7115 2651 4382], Liu Liangmo [0491 5328 2875], Wu Ruo'an [0702 5387 1344] (in written form), etc.

After the meeting heard the "Explanation of Organizing Committee Members To Discuss Amending the 'Revised Draft Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultation Conference,'" the delegates unanimously passed "On the Views of Carrying Out the Resolution of the National Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Constitution To Organize Committee Members To Discuss the Amending of the 'Revised Draft Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.'" Once the municipal CPPCC general office has

collected the suggestions for revision put forth by the CPPCC committee members, it will forward them to the secretariat of the CPPCC charter revision committee before the end of the month.

Zhang Chengzong, vice chairman of the municipal CPPCC, delivered the last speech at the meeting.

Before this meeting, the municipal CPPCC held on the 21st its 20th chairman's work conference to discuss the matter of deciding to convene the 22d meeting of the municipal CPPCC standing committee's 5th session. The work conference was chaired by Vice Chairman Zhao Zukang [6392 4371 1660].

9926

CSO: 4005/1244

LIAO CHENGZHI'S LETTER TO JIANG JINGGUO DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 82 p 4

[Article: "What Is the Meaning of 'A Hurried Meeting in Nanjiang' and 'Our Acquaintance in the Soviet Capital'?"]

[Text] Comrade editor: In "Liao Chengzhi's [1675 2110 1807] letter to Jiang Jingguo [5592 4842 0948]," it says: "A hurried meeting in Nanjing, quickly it is over 36 years. Close friendship in childhood, our acquaintance in the Soviet capital, past events come clearly into view." We young people don't know this part of history. This letter also quotes two lines of poetry: "Having survived all waves of misfortune, we remain brothers. Kindness and enmity will vanish when we meet again with a smile." We also don't know the origin of this quotation and its implications. Please explain. [signed] Cai Tiying [5591 7551 6601], Shanghai Municipal Gas Company

Comrade Cai Tiying: To answer your questions, I will explain briefly, according to what I know, as follows: "Close friendship in childhood, our acquaintance in the Soviet capital, past events come clearly into view." This is Comrade Liao Chengzhi's reminiscence about his early friendship with Jiang Jingguo. Liao Chengzhi is the son of Liao Zhongkai [1675 0112 1956], an outstanding democratic revolutionary and a close comrade-in-arms of Dr Sun Yatsen. He was born in 1908 and is older than Jiang Jingguo by 1 year. As their fathers followed Dr Sun closely, these two were associated in their early youthful years. By "our acquaintance in the Soviet capital," it means that they then met again in Moscow. In October 1925, Jiang Jingguo left Canton by sea for Vladivostok, from where he traveled by train on the Trans-Siberian Railway to Moscow to study, and enrolled at the Sun Yatsen University. After that, he studied, worked and lived for 12 years, till the spring of 1937, when he returned to China.

Liao Chengzhi went to Germany to study in 1928, and successively attended Berlin University and Hamburg University. As he was carrying out revolutionary propaganda among seamen, in 1930 he was arrested in Hamburg and deported by the German authorities. Then he went to Moscow and studied the revolution and construction of the Soviet Union. Later, as China was facing a national calamity, in 1932 Liao Chengzhi returned to Shanghai and undertook underground work for our party. When Liao Chengzhi was in Moscow, by chance Jiang Jingguo was also there. "Our acquaintance in the Soviet capital" means that they made friends in Moscow in 1930.

"A hurried meeting in Nanjing, quickly it is over 36 years." This is Liao's reminiscence about meeting Jiang Jingguo in Nanjing in 1946. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan, under the assumed name of Ho Liuhua [0149 2692 5478], Liao Chengzhi was sent by the party to Yenan and Hong Kong as a representative of the Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong, to work with Comrade Song Qingling [1345 1987 7881] in support of the war effort at home. On his way from Hong Kong back to Chongqing in 1942 he was arrested, and he spent nearly 4 years as a prisoner in a Kuomintang jail. In January 1946, as the nationalist and communist parties had reached a formal truce agreement, with the active help of our party and patriotic persons, Comrade Liao Chengzhi was released from prison, returned to the CPC delegation office in Chongqing, and began to work under the leadership of Comrade Zhou Enlai. At the beginning of May 1946, he moved to Nanjing with the CPC delegation office. At that time Jiang Jingguo was also working in Nanjing. They met again.

"Having survived all waves of misfortune, we remain brothers. Kindness and enmity will vanish when we meet again with a smile." This is a quotation from a poem by Lu Xun [7627 6598] entitled "A Dedication to the Sanyi Pagoda." In June 1933, at the request of a Japanese friend, Xi Cun Zhen Qin [6007 2625 4176 3830], Lu Xun wrote this poem to condemn Japanese militarists. The "wave of misfortune" was originally a Buddhist term which is now called simply misfortune. According to legend in ancient India, the world was destroyed every 10,000 years and began all over again; this was called a "misfortune." Later generations have borrowed this term to mean natural and man-made calamities. The word "vanish" in "kindness and enmity will vanish" means to disappear. Here, "kindness and enmity" becomes the deviation of a compound word, meaning only enmity. The two lines of poetry mean that no matter how extremely serious are the calamities of war brought upon China by Japanese fascism, the brotherly affection between peoples of the two countries will remain in the end, and, certainly a day will come when the peoples of the two countries will meet again with a smile. How can there be any enmity between the peoples?

The foregoing interpretation is my personal understanding and is presented only for your reference. [signed] Huang Meizhen [7806 5019 4176]

9039

CSO: 4005/1256

PARTY AND STATE

LIAO CHENGZHI'S CALL FOR REUNIFICATION SUPPORTED

Hong Kong Papers

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 81 p 4

[Article: "Hong Kong Newspapers on Liao's Letter to CCK"]

[Text] Some newspapers in Hong Kong published comments welcoming Liao Chengzhi's letter to Mr Chiang Ching-kuo and expressing their wish that Mr Chiang "best forget the enmities in the past and work jointly for the cause of making China both prosperous and powerful."

WEN HUI PAO says in an editorial entitled "We Hope Chiang Ching-kuo will Choose and Follow What is Good" published on the 26th, "It has been more than 3 years since the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress sent out its 'Letter to Compatriots in Taiwan.'" Calls demanding communication, peace talks and unification have repeatedly come from both sides of the Taiwan Strait. Regardless of the nature of the program one puts forward, or the stand one adheres to, the historical demand for the unification of our country has already become the trend of the times and the will of the people that cannot be reversed." The editorial says: "'In giving thought to gain, it must be beneficial to peoples all over the world; in seeking fame, it must be for all posterity.'" A foresighted statesman with high aspirations never allows himself to be swayed by personal feelings or historical entanglements. What he cares about are national interests and the prospects of his country. At this historical moment when world trends are seething and national rejuvenation of China is in sight, one has to render meritorious services for the unification, prosperity and strength of his country. We hope Mr Chiang Ching-kuo will think it over again, choose and follow what is good and do what is best."

A signed article in TA KUNG PAO of 26 July says, "The reason why the letter of Liao Chengzhi has caused such strong repercussions is mainly due to the fact that one billion people share the same hope that the immortal cause of peacefully unifying China will be realized at an early date." The article says, "The reason is obvious that unification will be advantageous to our country and confrontation will sap the vitality of our people. Although the authorities on Taiwan kept silent yesterday and refused to comment on it, man is a sentient creature and particularly in the face of this letter with deep feeling, Chiang Ching-kuo, under the present circumstances, has to take a clear stand."

A brief commentary entitled "Unification that Follows a Long Time Division Is a Historical Law" of HSIN PAO, 26 July says, "The good faith of the Chinese Communist Party in promoting peace talks cannot be denied. Therefore, we believe that both the Kuomintang and the CPC should try to promote mutual understanding between themselves through negotiations or unofficial contacts in order to reestablish mutual confidence. Unification following a long time division is an inexorable law in Chinese history. There is no need for us to take a pessimistic view on the question of unification of China."

An editorial of HSIN PAO of 26 July entitled "We Are Survivors of a Disaster and Enmity Can Phase Away with a Smile" says, "At first glance, we see that this letter brings up state affairs on a background of personal friendship and speaks out that both the Kuomintang and the CPC should be forthright and conciliatory in the interests of our country. It is obvious that this letter is scrupulous in separating public from private interests which is both fair and reasonable." "In the whole letter, affection is deeper than the Changjiang and personal loyalty is weightier than Mt Tai. And every word and sentence is in the interest of our country and our people."

TIAN TIAN JIHPAO says, in an editorial entitled "Compatriots Must Exert Every Effort When There Is a Thread of Opportunity for Unity", "It is hoped that everyone will not prematurely negate any effort.... And the most important task of our compatriots is to enthusiastically convince Taipei to accept Liao Chengzhi's visit."

AOMEN JIHPAO's commentary of 25 July holds, "After going over this letter which speaks in an earnest tone without reserve, we believe Chiang Ching-kuo has to reconsider his stand on entering into negotiations with the CPC in order to jointly promote the peaceful unification of our country!"

HONG KONG SHANG PAO CHING PAO AND MING PAO indicate, "Since the attitude expressed in this letter is gentle and polite, sincere and affectionate, it is hoped that Mr Chiang Ching-kuo will think it over and again in order to clear up the protracted enmity between the Kuomintang and the CPC through friendly talks."

Shanghai Personalities

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 82 p 4

[Article: "People in Shanghai Urge CCK To Comply with Liao's Call for Reunification"]

[Text] Since Liao Chengzhi's letter to Mr Chiang Ching-kuo was made public, personalities of various circles in Shanghai have continuously held forums in recent days expressing their hope that Mr Chiang Ching-kuo will be able to conform to the trend of the times and to make up his mind to enter into negotiations with the Communist Party so that they can jointly shoulder the historical responsibility of promoting peaceful unification of China.

Zhao Zukang [6392 4371 1660], vice chairman of the Shanghai Municipal People's Consultative Conference and chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, says that Liao Chengzhi has in his letter asked Mr Chiang Ching-kuo to carefully consider, reconsider, and yet again from three different aspects, i.e., the peaceful unification of our country, the survival or downfall of the Kuomintang, and both loyalty and filial piety. It seems that he has put himself in the other's position and tried to convince him on the basis of friendship and reason with words coming from the bottom of his heart which deeply touched all of us. He hopes that Chiang Ching-kuo, by stressing national pride without instigation by outsiders and without undermining the vitality of our people, will work jointly with the Communist Party in the cause of making China both prosperous and powerful.

Wang Guiying [3769 2710 5391], a model worker of the Shanghai Second Cotton Textile Mill, says that this is a letter showing good faith, affection and reason, that from the time when Chairman Ye Jiangying put forward the "Nine Principles" to the day when Comrade Liao Chengzhi sent out his letter, our party has fully demonstrated its good faith and sincerity. She says that the split of our country has already saddened our friends and made our enemies glad. We cannot let this kind of situation remain as it is.

Professor Xie Xide [6200 1585 1795], Vice President of Fudan University and a renowned physicist, says "After going through Liao Chengzhi's letter, I am really deeply touched. If Chiang Ching-kuo can take up the historical responsibility and accomplish the great cause of unification of our country, his merits will go down in the annals of history; otherwise, he will be a person condemned by history."

Professor Chen Jianshan [7115 0369 0810], the former director of the Museum of Taiwan and a famous ichthyologist, returned from the United States to China to settle down. He assumed the post of researcher in the Shanghai Museum of Natural Science. After he repeatedly read Liao's letter, all sorts of feelings welled up in his mind. He says, "Mr Chiang Ching-kuo has to enthusiastically respond and forget the enmity of the past so that the pain arising from severing one's own flesh and blood on both sides of the Taiwan Strait can be ended at an early date by unifying our country through peaceful means."

9560

CSO: 4005/1138

HAN PEIXIN NAMED ACTING GOVERNOR OF JIANGSU PROVINCE

Standing Committee Session

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Shen Chunzhong [3088 4783 0022]: "Standing Committee of Fifth Provincial People's Congress Holds 15th Session: Decides on Han Peixin as Acting Governor of Jiangsu Province; Accepts Requests of Hui Yuyu To Resign From Provincial Governorship and of Gong Weizhen, Wang Haisu, and Liu Lin To Resign From Deputy Provincial Governorships"]

[Text] The 15th Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, held in Nanjing the morning of 21 July, decided on Han Peixin [7281 1014 0207] as acting governor of Jiangsu Province and accepted the requests of Hui Yuyu [1920 3188 1342] to resign from his provincial governorship and of Gong Weizhen [1362 4850 2823], Wang Haisu [3076 3189 4725], and Liu Lin [2692 2651] to resign from their respective deputy provincial governorships.

The session was presided over by Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Chairman Xu Jiatun [6079 1367 1470]. When Provincial Governor Hui Yuyu came to the session, he first of all submitted to the session his request to resign as provincial governor. He said: As our country attempts to follow through with the "four modernizations," our leading groups must be made revolutionary, young, knowledgeable, and professional. Today, I am already rather advanced in age; it is very necessary to select some comrade in his prime to take over my duties. In response to the call by the Party Central Committee, and in the interests of the party and the revolution, please accept my request for resignation. He indicated that, while hereafter he would no longer serve in the capacity of provincial governor, as a communist he must remain a revolutionary for the rest of his life and continue to do beneficial work which he is still capable of doing for the party and the people.

On behalf of the provincial party committee, Liu Lin, second secretary of the provincial party committee, made a proposal to the session on a change in the membership of the principal leadership of the provincial people's government and also offered his explanation. He said: On the basis of Comrade Hui Yuyu's resignation request, the provincial party agrees that he no

longer will serve as provincial governor of Jiangsu Province and that Comrade Han Peixing, secretary of the provincial party committee, will now act as governor of Jiangsu Province. At the same time, Comrades Gong Weizhen, Wang Haisu, and I also submit our resignations from our respective deputy provincial governorships. We ask the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress to examine and decide on them. In his explanation, Comrade Liu Lin introduced, respectively, the revolutionary experiences of the three old comrades, Hui Yuyu, Gong Weizhen, and Wang Haisu; they are all old comrades who joined the revolution long ago and have made contributions to the revolutionary cause. Comrade Liu Lin said: Now they are advanced in age and, in response to the call by the Party Central Committee, are asking to resign from their leading posts in the provincial government and to retreat to the second front; the provincial party committees agrees with their requests. This way, they will be spared from excessive work and can thus live longer and continue to make contributions in their late years. In his explanation, Comrade Liu Lin also related to the committee members Comrade Han Peixin's revolutionary history and working situation. He said: The provincial party committee holds that it is appropriate to have Comrade Han Peixin act as provincial governor; he is capable of shouldering the heavy duties entrusted to him by the State Council and the province's 60 million people.

After serious discussion, the session unanimously consented to the proposal on the change in the membership of the principal leadership of the provincial people's government made by Comrade Liu Lin on behalf of the CPC Jiangsu Provincial Committee, and passed the respective pertinent resolutions.

After the session passed the above resolution, Chairman Xu Jiatun spoke.

Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Vice Chairmen Zhong Guochu [6954 0948 2606], Kuang Yaming [0562 0068 2494], He Binghao [0149 0393 3185], Dai Weiran [2071 3634 3544], Xie Dongke [6200 2639 0344], Ye Xuchao [5509 5171], and Liu Shuxun [0491 2885 8113] all attended the session. Responsible persons of the provincial people's government, the provincial higher people's court, the provincial procuratorate, and concerned departments of the provincial people's government, as well as the municipal and county people's congress standing committees of Nanjing, Danyang, Kunshan, Xinghua, Hai'an, Yangcheng, Lianshui, and Fengxian, were also present at the session.

Biographical Sketch

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Brief Sketch of Comrade Han Peixin"]

[Text] Han Peixin, male, age 60, Han nationality, [is a] native of Xingshui County, Jiangsu Province. [He has] served as governor of Changshu County, secretary of the Changshu party committee, commissioner of the Suzhou Office of Commissioners, secretary of the CPC Suzhou Prefectural Committee, deputy chief of the organizational department of the CPC Jiangsu Provincial Committee, chief of countryside work department of the provincial party committee,

acting secretary general of the provincial party committee, vice chairman of the Yangzhou Prefectural Revolutionary Committee, deputy secretary of the CPC Yangzhou Prefectural Committee, deputy chairman of the Jiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Jiangsu Provincial Committee, secretary of the provincial party committee, deputy minister of the PRC Ministry of Light Industries, and deputy secretary of its party group. [He is] currently secretary of the CPC Jiangsu Provincial Committee.

9255

CS0: 4005/1245

PARTY AND STATE

GREATER EFFORT IN STRUGGLE AGAINST ECONOMIC CRIMES URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 82 p 1

[Commentary: "Strengthen Leadership, Stress Breakthroughs"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Shanghai Municipal Middle-level People's Court pronounced judgment publicly on 12 serious economic criminals, including Xu Shikui [1776 1102 1145], Yu Jiancheng [0060 1696 2052], Zhu Genling [2612 2704 3781], and Shen Zuoyao [3088 0146 0131]. This was but one more large and important case in which the weapon of the law was used to inflict severe punishment since this city's launching of the struggle against serious economic crime. This judgment makes it clear that the struggle in Shanghai against economic crime is deepening and that in the area of cracking big cases we have already done a lot of work and achieved a definite record of accomplishment.

But, because before liberation Shanghai contained the foreign concessions, "the amusement park for the adventurous," and was the hideout of the "gang of four" during the 10 years of turmoil, and presently remains an international city in terms of our opening to the outside world, we absolutely must not overestimate our accomplishments in attacking economic crime, especially in regard to cracking major cases. We must clearly recognize the serious crime situation that has prevailed in the economic sector in Shanghai in recent years and see that our struggle against crime throughout the city has been unbalanced. Because of this, the task before the party organizations at present remains to strengthen leadership in this struggle, to work in a down-to-earth way, to continue to do a good job of cracking major cases and to deepen the struggle against serious economic crime.

The key to strengthening leadership and doing a solid job in the work of cracking major cases is for the leadership at every level to recognize the importance of this struggle and to resolve to do well in it. We should note that so far the leaders in some of our units are not firmly resolved to do well in this struggle, but are weak and their stands unclear. Some of them are overcautious and laden with worry, and do not dare to lead boldly; some merely appear to command without following through; some do not research the situations in their own units, frivolously believing that their own units have no problems, that they are "dry offices"; some know nothing of the various situations of certain people in their units and are greatly surprised when external cases involving these people are brought to light. There are also

Leaders of units who talk about concentrating their efforts on breaking major cases, but while "the thunder is loud, the raindrops are small," they are content with slogans and take no realistic, forceful measures. Some units uncover major cases, but retreat in the face of resistance and difficulties and do not forge ahead; some units get ahold of leads but do not follow up on them. All of these situations make it clear that the major problems in concentrating on cracking major cases and deepening the struggle against economic crime are the ones which would truly solve the problem of a lack of ideological awareness and determination on the part of leadership. Every unit and department must examine and review their work during the previous stage to see how the measures in the "Emergency Notice" of the party Central Committee and the "Decisions Concerning the Attack on Serious Crime in the Economic Sector" of the Party Central Committee and the State Council have been implemented in its own unit and system, and if its leadership takes them seriously, has a resolute attitude, adopts forceful measures, is clear in its primary direction of attack and concentrates its effort on seriously handling major cases. Through review and examination, those whose understanding of the significance of this struggle is lacking should further study related documents to raise their understanding and correct their ideology; those who are irresolute should further arouse their spirits and resolve to work hard in this struggle.

Leadership at every level must not only resolve to strengthen its leadership and concentrate on cracking major cases, but must also transform that resolution into real action and forceful measures. Leadership resolve does not lie in talking big or meaninglessly making a position known, nor is it satisfied merely to hold several mobilization meetings, to make the normal arrangements and to write several superficial documents. Rather it lies in personally taking command and getting involved, seriously organizing efforts, organizing powerful work groups, adopting realistic and forceful measures for launching work, seriously taking responsibility and striving through to the end. Therefore we emphasize that leadership must be resolved, must assume personal command and must organize specialized efforts because of the arduous and complex nature of this struggle. The scope of involvement in major cases is generally broader, and they are most complex, more difficult and meet with stronger resistance than smaller cases, and this is especially true when a major case involves leading cadres of certain agencies and units. Because of this, in cracking major cases, forceful leadership and the organization of expert efforts are indispensable, and merely doing a part of the work is unacceptable. Presently, because some units do not place enough ideological emphasis on this, organizational leadership thus far has not been practicable. In some cases, the composition of leadership groups has been incomplete. In some, there were too many titular members and too few working members--a group in form only. Similar situations must be quickly changed. Certainly, party committees at every level must actually place this struggle on their daily agendas and seriously carry out studies and make decisions. The working groups that should be created should be rapidly organized and the members that should be transferred should be resolutely transferred. If organized leadership is not workable, then tackling major cases is an empty idea.

If we wish to strengthen leadership and do a solid job in the struggle against serious crime in the economic sector, we must also correctly understand and handle the relationship between the long-term nature of the struggle and the present stress on cracking major cases. Presently, there exists a situation

some units lack the ideological preparation to carry on a long-term fight and view the struggle against economic crime as a temporary task. and after they strike a blow and expose several economic criminals, they relax, believing that their task is completed and that they can stop. Other units understand the long-term nature of the battle to mean that they can work slowly, and it seems that they begin certain work, but like "the old cow pulling the broken down cart," they move slowly, with some desire but little strength. Both of these ideas and methods are incorrect. Those comrades with a notion of this as a temporary task and with a relaxed approach to it must realize that this is a long-term struggle to be undertaken this year, next year and on to the end. Those comrades who understand the long-term nature of the struggle to mean that they can move slowly must realize that a long-term fight is not a matter of letting present work slide because it can be handled in the future. We must establish a long-term strategic battle mentality and base ourselves tactically in the present, requiring the quick breaking of major cases within a short time and achieving obvious results. Only by establishing a long-term battle mentality and by solidly focusing on present work and going after major cases can we effectively attack economic criminals and achieve complete victory in this struggle.

9705

CSO: 4005/1257

VIEW ON RESPONSIBILITY FOR ECONOMIC CRIMES REFUTED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Zhou Weiyang [0719 0251 3152]: "Is It 'Burning Joss Sticks To Invite Ghosts'?"]

[Text] While our struggle against serious economic crime is being waged in greater depth, one particular view deserves our attention. Some people have said: "At present there are so many economic criminals because after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have 'burned joss sticks' by carrying out a policy of opening to the outside and activating the economy at home; consequently 'ghosts' have appeared."

Is this view of "burning joss sticks to invite ghosts" right or wrong? Obviously it is wrong. Our policy of opening to the outside and activating the economy at home is a fundamental policy we have adopted after summing up the experience of economic construction for the past 30 years, in accordance with the needs of socialist reconstruction. It opposes the ultra-"Left" methods of closing the country to international intercourse and hampering economic development at home which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pursued. Opening to the outside means to use the present favorable international situation, strengthen our economic contacts and scientific, technological and cultural exchanges with various countries of the world, and thus promote the development of our economy, science, technology and culture. Activating the economy at home means to uphold the principle of taking planned economy as the primary factor, and market regulation as a secondary measure, adhere to the innate law of socialist economy, and help our economic construction as far as possible gain beneficial results. "Truth is the daughter of time." Our practice in the past 3 years and more has proved that "burning joss sticks" in opening to the outside and activating the economy at home has brought boundless vitality to our vast motherland and has ushered in the development of industrial and agricultural production, the prosperity of urban and rural markets, and the stability of people's livelihood. These "joss sticks" have given benefits to the country and the people, made socialist economy prosperous, and promoted the development of China. How can anyone say that we "burn joss sticks to invite ghosts"?

Of course, under the historic condition that we are carrying out the policy of opening to the outside and activating the economy at home, there is indeed

infiltration and erosion by capitalist ideology, and a number of "ghosts" have appeared who have engaged in activities of smuggling, corruption, speculation and fraud. It is not strange that such "ghosts" have appeared in a socialist society. Were not Liu Qingshan [0491 7230 1472] and Zhang Zishan [1728 1311 0810] in the period of the movement against the three evils of corruption, waste and bureaucracy [1951-1952]; Wang Shouxin [3769 1343 0207] during the time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild; and persons of their ilk all "ghosts" who committed serious crimes in the economic field? Today, economic crimes are so widespread that "big ghosts" and "small ghosts" are coming out again to do mischief; this is an important manifestation of class struggle under the new historic condition. It is a reflection that decadent capitalist ideology, both from abroad and at home, is corrupting us, and it is certainly not an inevitable outcome brought on by our policy of opening to the outside and activating the economy at home since the Third Plenary Session of the CCP 11th Central Committee.

Of course, the "ghosts" must haunt and plague, they must look for an opportunity to exploit various loopholes. Since we enforced the policy of opening to the outside and activating the economy at home, many of our units have not yet caught up promptly with their ideological and political work and with some necessary administrative systems and executive measures. In due course, many new cases and new issues have come up which are awaiting study and resolution in practice. Some economic criminals are taking advantage of this opportunity. At the same time, just as in the case of any correct policy of our party possibly being distorted and used by persons with ulterior motives, these economic criminals also often play the trick of stealthily substituting one thing for another, distorting current policies of our party, and carrying out illegal and criminal activities under high-sounding excuses. For instance, they describe their act of smuggling as engaging in "economic dealings with foreign countries," and they describe speculation and fraud as acts of "activating the economy." The presence of such a situation will easily give the wrong impression to those who see only the superficial phenomenon but ignore the essence of things. They think that these "ghosts" of economic crimes are invited by "burning joss sticks" of opening to the outside and activating the economy at home. As a matter of fact, this is not true.

The possibility that the policy of opening to the outside and activating the economy at home might bring about temptation and corrosion by decadent capitalist ideology was already anticipated by the party Central Committee, and the whole party has been told about it. The question is that some of our party members and cadres are not clearheaded. In face of the struggle between serious corrosion and the combat against corrosion, some of them do not understand it fully and lower their guard, others are weak-willed and become bewildered and infatuated, and still others are carried away by their desire and adapt readily. Moreover, some people even wittingly or unwittingly distort the party's policy by taking the "opening to the outside" as keeping our doors wide open and giving a free passage to everything, and "activating the economy" as having one's own way, running wild willfully, and defying human and divine law. This is certainly not the party's policy. Our party has never advocated opening our doors to and accepting capitalist decadent and reactionary ideas and the dispirited and degenerate lifestyle of foreign countries.

Similarly, our party has also never permitted the revival of the evils of speculation and corruption of the old society and capitalist liberalization. Is not all this very clear? It is a pity that some of our party members and cadres, while not yielding to the despotic power of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," nevertheless, in the present new situation, fall on their knees before money and foreign goods, degenerate into criminals, and go so far as to become "ghosts" in sabotaging socialist construction. How can anyone say that such "ghosts" are invited by "burning joss sticks"?

In short, the argument of "burning joss sticks to invite ghosts" in order to lay the blame for economic crimes on the party's policy of opening to the outside and activating the economy at home is exceedingly wrong. If we liken this policy to burning joss sticks, we should say that it is "burning joss sticks to invite prosperity and strength" while the "ghosts" make trouble at this opportunity. Therefore, we must persist in "burning joss sticks" and giving a blow to the "ghosts." We are determined to take action, and we will not waver!

9039

CSO: 4005/1256

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARIES ON CORRECT PARTY LIFESTYLE

Struggle Against Economic Crimes

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Develop Discussion, Enhance Understanding, and Adhere to Struggle"]

[Text] The Discipline Inspection Committee and the Propaganda Department of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee jointly served a "Notice Regarding Organizing Party Members, Cadres, and the Masses To Discuss Li Changlu's [2621 2052 7216] Case of Corruption And Bribery" yesterday. This is an important plan to strengthen the struggle for cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic domain.

Over the past few months, the struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic domain has been enthusiastically carried out in our municipality. A number of cases of criminal activities in the economic domain have been investigated and handled, a number of economic criminals have been openly tried, and the broad masses of cadres and the people have been educated. But the development of the struggle is still uneven. No timely headway has been made in investigating and handling some major, important cases. In order to deepen our struggle, it is necessary to conscientiously strengthen the leadership, overcome the state of low spirit, and resolutely and promptly investigate and handle major and important cases. The struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic domain is protracted, arduous, and complicated. For this, we must have sober understanding and sharp vigilance. It is absolutely not allowed to rest content with one's achievements by assuming that one can have a breathing spell after winning a single campaign. It is necessary to foster the concept of conducting a protracted war in order vigilantly to carry on this struggle, which has an important bearing on the prosperity or decline and the rise or fall of our party and our country right to the very end. Party committees at all levels must earnestly strengthen their leadership while conducting this struggle. Principal leading cadres in all units and departments must take a personal interest in this struggle. Leaders of units having major or important cases must become personally involved, and someone must be specifically assigned to take care of these matters as soon as possible. In doing so, their attitude must be firm and the measures taken must be effective. It is not allowed to be indecisive or overly lenient.

In this struggle, we must pay attention to utilizing typical examples to educate the people to guard against corrosive influences. In launching the struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic domain, the task will be far from accomplished merely by investigating and handling a few criminal cases or by taking strong measures against a few criminals in the economic sphere. It is extremely important to provide party members, cadres, and the masses with an ideological-political education of vitality and substance. Since the time we adopted an open-door policy to foreign countries and set about to reactivate the economy in our country, the corrosive influence of decadent Western capitalist ideology and of the way of life of the capitalist class has become relatively serious in our country. As a result, hideous activities such as large-scale smuggling and traffic in smuggled goods, graft and bribery, and speculation and swindling have surprisingly been associated with some party members and cadres. Some of our Communist Party members who have never been conquered by the enemy's force have now been hit by "sugar-coated bullets!" We can see from Li Chenglu's example of corruption and bribery that the corrosion and infiltration of capitalist ideology have already seriously poisoned the thinking of some of our party members and cadres and have contaminated the general mood of our society. While confronting the corrosion by capitalist ideology, the rigorous test of every party member and cadre is whether he can keep a sober mind and preserve communist purity or whether he will indulge in embezzlement or covetousness.

The corruption and bribery case of Li Chenglu is a major and important case to be investigated and handled in our municipality. It is of great significance to utilize this typical example to carry out education against corrosion. Party committees at all levels must utilize this typical case well and carry out discussions in the light of the realities of their own units or departments. Through these discussions, we can then help the masses of party members, cadres, and the people to understand the seriousness and danger of capitalist ideology, develop the great significance of the struggle to crack down on the serious criminal activities in the economic domain, and heighten our consciousness in this struggle against corrosion.

Combat Corruption

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Rectification To Earnestly Solve Major Problems"]

[Text] The working conference on party consolidation recently convened by the municipal party committee pointed out that in the second half of this year, rectification will continue to be the "master switch." Taking party consolidation as the core, the struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere will be further intensified in order to attain the goal that better economic benefits and a solid growth rate should be realized economically, and that in building a spiritual civilization, we must strive for a decisive turn for the better in our party workstyle, in the general mood of society, and in social security. Party and government organizations at all levels, as well as the masses of party members, cadres, and people throughout our municipality, must enthusiastically respond to the municipal party committee's call, solidify our confidence, and courageously exert ourselves in order resolutely to achieve the objective of our struggle this year.

Practice proves that "rectification" is a "master switch" to do a good job in all kinds of work, a "golden key" to solve problems of one kind or another, and an effective measure to break a new path and open up new prospects.

At present, in order for us to do a good job of rectifying our workstyle, it is most important for us to overcome the flabby state of the leadership. We must be bold enough to strike at the "difficult" and solve the major problems. At this moment, we are indeed faced with a lot of problems. Not only must the disastrous effects resulting from the 10-year turmoil be removed and rectified, but we also are required to cope with the new situation and new problems accompanying readjustment and reform. In the economic sector, we are faced with such problems as whether we dare to break a new path to solve problems concerned with the leading groups, labor organizations, ownership by the whole people and eating from the "common pot" collectively without distinguishing the good from the bad, the readjustment of enterprises, and the relationship among the three different parties in profit-sharing under the economic responsibility system. In solving the problem of the leading groups, the question is whether we dare to rectify their ideology and workstyle and make readjustments according to the needs of the "four modernizations." In the course of checking unhealthy tendencies, the question is whether we have the courage to adhere to principles and handle things impartially without sparing the sensibilities of "related households" or "related individuals." In the struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic domain, the question is whether we dare to break the "protective stratum" and overcome obstructions and obstacles in order to conscientiously investigate and handle the major and important cases, and so forth. These and other problems have a wide range of implications in all aspects and directions, and they are indeed "difficult problems" that prevent us from carrying our work forward. If we adopt the evasive attitude of not touching upon them when we deal with these problems, rectification will certainly become a mere superficial formality. If we want to solve this problem, all departments and units must have the resolve and the courage to display their revolutionary spirit to conduct investigation and study of the major cases and adopt effective measures to solve them in earnest within one's own department or unit, without sparing anyone's sensibilities. Units such as the Harbin Bearing Plant, the First Provincial Construction Company, and the Songhuajiang Department Store have already set good examples for us to follow.

Having the courage to solve the major problems is the bounden responsibility of party committees and leading cadres at all levels. It is also a rigorous test to check whether the belief in communism on the part of leaders at all levels is persevering and unshakable, whether the lines adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are resolutely carried out, and whether they have a sign of purity of party spirit. We must foster a firm belief and a revolutionary spirit of a boundless sense of responsibility to the revolutionary cause, and daringly touch upon and solve the major problems which may have an impact on the improvement of economic benefits and the realization of a turn for the better in the "three determines." In so doing, we have to attach great importance to the interests of the party and the people. Having the courage to touch upon the "difficult" and making an effort to solve these major problems are the crying demands of the masses of cadres and the people. It is a must for doing a good job. As long as we

act firmly and practically, we can enjoy the confidence and the support of the people, many difficult problems can thus be readily solved, and a new situation full of vitality will come before us in various kinds of work.

Set Examples for Others

Harbin HEILINGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "One Must Constantly Remember That One Is a Party Member"]

[Text] Since the launching of the campaign of "five stresses and four points of beauty," the style of work of our party, the common practice of the people, and the general mood of society have evidently taken a favorable turn. New people and new things are constantly emerging in such cases as finding it a pleasure to help others, helping the distressed and succoring those in peril, sacrificing oneself for the sake of others, and so forth. The deed of Zou Hongxue [6760 3163 1331], a Communist Party member, reported in this newspaper today is only one of them. From him, we can catch sight of the lofty value and the spirit of self-sacrifice of a Communist Party member.

As Zou Hongxue was going to rescue a second drowning person, three of his fingers were being bitten off. At that time, he was in danger of being dragged to the bottom of the river and perishing together with the drowning person. At this critical moment of life and death, he made the decision to bring them both out of danger. He endured the terrible pain with amazing willpower and dragged the drowning person to the shallow edge of the river with his hands. This story fully reveals the selflessness and fearlessness of a Communist Party member who acts entirely in the people's interests.

The revolutionary spirit of Zou Hongxue, who endeavors to sacrifice himself for the sake of others, is highly commendable, and all the more so are his character and morals in doing people good turns. He never gives his name when doing something good nor does he show off, but every word or deed of his adds luster to the party. When he was asked by the person he had saved and the masses to give his name, he uttered the following only when he was no longer able to keep silent: "I am a Communist Party member attached to an organization of the provincial party committee." This is a very good answer! The spirit of his answer lies in the fact that he has given publicity to the consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and has manifested the lofty character of attributing all glory to the party. Last year, when rectification was being carried out in organizations at the provincial level, leading cadres of the provincial party committee explicitly pointed out that provincial party committee organizations should set themselves as examples of the province as a whole. At the same time, they also proposed that leading cadres should behave themselves like leading cadres and that Communist Party members should behave themselves like communists.... Zou Hongxue is an ordinary Communist Party member, but he can consciously make demands on himself in accordance with both the standards of a party member and the call of organizations of the provincial party committee, which asks party members to set themselves as examples. He has proved with concrete words and deeds of his own that he has never let the party organizations down.

At present, the people of the whole country are engaged in the construction of the four modernizations under the leadership of our party. If we compare the life-and-death risks in the cause of construction with those experienced during the war years, relatively speaking the former are less risky. However, in the process of construction, difficulties and obstacles are unavoidable. In order to cope with these difficulties and obstacles, not only is it necessary for the people of our various nationalities to give full play to their intelligence and wisdom, but they must also attain a lofty realm of spirit to set up a new pattern of relationship between persons. Since Communist Party members shoulder heavy responsibilities in this respect, they must give full play to the exemplary vanguard role of a communist. Every party member must learn from the example of Zou Hongxue and constantly remember that he himself is a party member and that he must conscientiously do people good turns. Only by so doing can we educate the masses of people to overcome the difficulties that impede our progress so that we can strive for new victories in the construction of the four modernizations.

9560

CSO: 4005/1275

PARTY AND STATE

MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT EVENTS REVIEWED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Zheng Zemin [6774 0463 3064]: "The May 4th Movement"]

[Text] The May 4th Movement which broke out on 4 May 1919 was a mighty revolutionary movement of the Chinese people for the purpose of combating imperialism and feudalism. It was not only a patriotic political movement, but a cultural and ideological one as well. It was a significant turning point of the democratic revolution in China.

The May 4th Movement was associated with a profound social background resulting from the fundamental contradictions in Chinese society which had become increasingly acute. It took place after World War I and was influenced and promoted by both the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917 and the new world revolutionary trend.

After World War I, a "peace conference" was convened in Paris in January 1919 to settle international problems arising from the conclusion of the war. The participating nations included the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Italy and Japan. At the time, the president of the Beijing government was Xu Shichang [1776 0013 2490], an old bureaucrat, but Duan Qirui [3008 4388 3843], the head of the warlords of the Anhui faction was actually in power. Although he was no longer premier since October 1918, he still held the position of "Supervisor of World War Affairs" commanding the "expeditionary force." In the south, after Dr Sun Yat-sen was forced to quit his post, the Constitution Protection Military Government was controlled by the warlord bureaucrats headed by Cen Chunxuan [1478 2504 3551]. The delegation sent to the Paris Peace Conference by the Chinese Government was headed by Lu Zhengxiang [7120 1794 4382], the foreign minister of the Beijing government, but the military government in the south also sent delegates including Wang Zhengting [3769 2973 1694]. The Chinese delegation to the "Peace Conference" proclaimed the complete abolition of all special privileges enjoyed by big powers in China, nullification of the "Twenty-one Demands," an unequal treaty, and the recovery of rights in Shandong which Japan seized from Germany during World War I. However, the Paris Peace Conference was only a conference for the imperialist big powers to share the loot. China's demands were totally rejected and on the peace treaty with Germany, it was explicitly stated that German rights in Shandong should be transferred to Japan. The government of the northern warlords was ready to sign the "peace treaty." Such a situation outraged the Chinese people and sparked strong opposition which touched off the patriotic May 4th Movement.

In the afternoon of 4 May 1919, more than 3,000 students from various educational institutions including Beijing University and Beijing Higher Normal School assembled in front of Tiananmen to stage a huge demonstration. They vowed to "externally resist the great powers and internally expel the traitors," to "nullify the Twenty-One Demands," and to "refuse to sign the peace treaty." At that time, the spearhead of the students' struggle was mainly directed at the Japanese imperialists who had invaded and seized our rights in Shandong and threatened the existence of our nation. The parade gathered in force and proceeded to the Legation Quarter with the purpose to "explain the situation" to legations of various countries in the hope that Western countries like the United States would stand for "justice." However, they were refused admittance by the Legation Quarter guards. At that moment, the marchers dispersed and decided to see the traitors to denounce them publicly for their crimes. They, therefore, marched to the residence of Cao Rulin [2580 3067 7207] located on Zhao-Jia-Lou Lane. Cao was then minister of communications of the Beijing government. In 1915, when he was vice minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs serving Yuan Shih-kai, Cao was one of the representatives who signed the treaty of the Twenty-One Demands. Because Cao himself, Zhang Zhongxiang [4545 1350 4382], then the minister to Japan, and Lu Zongyu [7120 1250 6559], the then director general of the Monetary Bureau, were the three who represented Duan Qirui negotiating a loan from Japan and signed a traitorous treaty, they became the three traitors the patriotic students unanimously asked to punish. The contingents of marchers encircled Cao's residence and broke in. Cao Rulin escaped. However, finding Zhang Zhongxiang was there, the patriotic students beat him into insensibility and set fire to the house. With the belated arrival of troops and police, 32 students were arrested. The immediate response to the arrest was the general strike by all students in Beijing. They also published an open telegram to the nation to protest.

The patriotic movement carried out by students in Beijing on 4 May reverberated throughout the entire country like spring thunder. Demonstrations were staged one after another in major cities such as Tianjin, Shanghai, Changsha, and Guangzhou, and in many other places all over the country to give students in Beijing their support. Chinese students abroad and overseas Chinese students also launched patriotic activities. Under pressure, the Beijing government released the arrested students on 7 May, but it issued orders to suppress the students' movement. On 19 May, a new general strike directed by students in Beijing took place which was immediately followed by patriotic propaganda telling people to boycott Japanese goods. On 1 June, the Beijing government issued two orders in succession: one was to defend traitors Cao, Zhang and Lu, while the other was to prohibit all patriotic activities of the students. On 3 June, students in Beijing again poured into the streets to deliver speeches. In 2 days time, nearly 1,000 students were arrested which roused the people all over the country to still greater indignation. People in Shanghai stood up first. They gave energetic support to the students in Beijing. The strike in Shanghai was joined by students, industrial workers, shopkeepers and employees in commercial establishments. Beginning from 5 June, the industrial workers in Shanghai launched an unprecedented political strike, which was joined by some 60,000 to 70,000 people. Meanwhile, one after another industrial workers in Lanjing, Tianjin, Hangzhou, Jinan, Wuhan, Jiujiang and Wuhu also carried out strikes and demonstrations. This stated clearly that the working class in China which was

growing stronger day by day has independently emerged as a new force in Chinese politics. Consequently, the center of movement shifted to Shanghai from Beijing and the working class replaced the students as the main force in the movement since the "3 June" event. Not only the Beijing government but also the imperialists were extremely shocked at that time. On 6 June, the Beijing government was forced to release all the arrested students. On 10 June, it was announced that the "resignations" of Cao, Zhang and Lu were "approved." On 20 June, the Chinese delegation refused to sign the peace treaty with Germany. The immediate goal of the struggle waged by the masses was achieved and the 4 May patriotic movement victoriously came to an end.

The May 4th Movement was also a new cultural movement. As early as September 1915, Chen Duxiu founded the YOUTH MAGAZINE (later renamed NEW SOUTH) holding up two banners of "democracy" and "science" to vehemently attack feudalism and its ideology. It loudly appealed to the people to "cure the darkness in China politically, morally, literarily and ideologically." It also pointed out that the feudal dogmas of the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues as well as fidelity, filial piety, moral integrity and personal loyalty are "slavish morality" incompatible with social or national life of today. A new trend advocating "down with Confucius and sons incorporated" was set off. The new cultural movement, while struggling against the traditional moral ethics and spreading a new one, also introduced the vernacular style of writing to replace the classical style of writing and recommended the new literature under the slogan of "literary revolution." The victory of the socialist October Revolution in Russia in 1917 produced a great impact among the world outlook of the proletariat as an instrument to study the destiny of the nation. Articles like "The Victory of the Common People" and "The Victory of Bolshevism" published by Li Dazhao [2621 1129 6856] in November 1918 embodied the new awakening of the advanced elements in China. He pointed out with full confidence: "Just think about the future world and it will certainly be flooded with red flags!"

The new cultural movement not only provided an ideological foundation for the May 4th Movement, but it also developed further in depth along with that movement. As a result, the socialist ideological trend has gradually replaced the bourgeois ideological trend and thereby becoming the main stream of the movement. After the May 4th Movement, organizations and publications engaged in introducing, researching and disseminating Marxism-Leninism emerged one after another. The NEW SOUTH magazine gradually became a cornerstone for propagating Marxism.

Along with the development of the movement, the ranks of the movement were divided. People like Hu Shi, Liang Qichao and Zhang Dongsun [1728 2639 5549] continued to forge ahead towards the right while Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Deng Zhongxia [6772 0022 1115] and others turned to become Marxists. Still others like Lu Xun continued to wage struggles against the feudal autocratic ideology with a vivid ideology of revolutionary democracy.

The May 4th Movement marked the end of the old democratic revolution and the birth of the contemporary democratic revolution in China which provided the ideology and cadres for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921.

PARTY AND STATE

'STATE SYSTEM', 'SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT' EXPLAINED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 6 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Jiangang [3769 7003 1511]: "Do not Confuse the State System and the System of Government"]

[Text] It is possible to discuss our people's democratic dictatorship along with the soviets which existed after the Paris Commune and the October Revolution? I believe that it is not possible.

The state system and the system of government are two different concepts. The state system refers to the class composition of the state and explains which class has control of the state. By determining which class held state political authority it is possible to make historical analyses of the various forms of state systems into slaveowner dictatorship, feudal landlord dictatorship, bourgeois dictatorship, proletarian dictatorship and multi-class joint dictatorship. The term system of government refers to the type of organization of state political power. Historically there have been absolute monarchies, constitutional monarchies, republics, soviets and people's consultative congresses. Therefore, the relationship between the state system and the system of government is one of form and content. The state system refers to the content of state political power and the political system refers to the form of state political power, and the two cannot be equated.

After the Paris Commune and the October Revolution the soviets had the political form, that is, the political system, of a proletarian dictatorship. For example, in talking about the state system of the Paris Commune Marx said that the Paris Commune actually was a worker class government. Yet, while discussing the form of its political system he said that the Paris Commune "finally discovered that it was a political form that enabled labor to obtain economic liberation." During the October Revolution, while discussing the soviet as an organ of proletarian state political power Lenin said, "The soviet is a Russian form of proletarian dictatorship." (LENING XUANJI-SELECTED WORKS OF LENIN, Vol 3, p 643) The term people's democratic dictatorship refers to the state system. In his "On New Democracy" Comrade Mao Zedong made an analysis of China in the future and said, "State system--joint dictatorship by all

...revolutionary classes. Political system--democratic centralist." On the same page in his article Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out that the political system was a consultative congress consisting of people from all classes. In his two articles "Fully Carry Out the Revolution" and "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Zedong went a step further in explaining the state system established by the democratic revolution as a "people's democratic dictatorship." During the period of socialist Revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong used the term people's democratic dictatorship interchangeably with the term proletarian dictatorship, and the proletarian dictatorship from first to last was the political system of the people's consultative congress. Therefore, a correct statement would be: The people's consultative congress of China and the soviets after the Paris Commune and the October Revolution are different political systems of proletarian dictatorship in different countries, and in China the people's democratic dictatorship is another method of saying proletarian dictatorship. To speak in the same breath of the people's consultative congress and the soviets after the Paris Commune and the October Revolution is mistaken and confuses the forms of their political systems.

11572

CSC: 4005/1306

PARTY AND STATE

PROVINCIAL PARTY COMMITTEE DISCUSSES PROMOTION OF YOUNG CADRES

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Zu Qing [4371 3237]: "Broaden the Horizon in Selecting and Promoting Outstanding Middle-Aged and Younger Cadres"]

[Text] On 12 August, the provincial party committee held a meeting of responsible persons of various departments, commissions, offices and bureaus, emphasizing the need for the provincial agencies to devise a successful and effective way to select and train outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres as an important step in consolidating, reforming and streamlining their administrative structure. Those attending the meeting pointed out: In the course of consolidating, reforming and streamlining the administrative structure, the most important of all is an effort to transform the leading bodies into "three-in-one combination" groups composed of revolutionary, well-educated, young and professionally competent cadres, and to build the leading bodies of departments at all levels into fighting headquarters staffed by robust cadres determined to implement the party's line, principles and policies, and capable of shouldering heavy workloads and applying professional knowledge to blaze a new trail to the future. In doing so, a number of old comrades will end up retiring to the second or third line of duty while some outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres will be selected to assume leadership positions in the first line of duty. At present, "entering" young cadres on duty is more important and urgent than "retiring" old cadres. If the problem of how to "enter" young cadres on duty is not solved successfully, it is certain to affect the continuity of the party's line, principles and policies, and hamper the development of the four modernizations program. For this reason, all provincial agencies must select a number of outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres capable of entering leading bodies at all levels during the second half of this year or during the coming winter and spring, as required by the party Central Committee and the provincial party committee. The meeting also made known the following requirements: First, old comrades must regard selecting and training outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres as a task of prime importance to be grasped. To bring new blood into the presently aging leading bodies and to bring the process of replacing old cadres with young cadres to a successful conclusion calls for old cadres to do a good job of selecting their successors with the high sense of responsibility to the revolutionary cause. They must regard this as more important than their daily contributions

... administrative work. Their successful implementation of this work should be remembered by the nation as their last significant contributions to the party's cause. Second, it is necessary to broaden the horizon in selecting talent. Various units must proceed from reality to include in their surveys not only various offices but also an entire system and entire front. In the course of selection, they must rely on the leadership of the party, uphold the correct line, and discard the old-fashioned practice of recruiting talent in a confidential way. Third, all surveys and assessments in this connection must be conducted in accordance with the principle of political integrity and professional competence. Efforts must be made to gain a clear understanding of each candidate in order to avoid the mistake of bringing into government service vandals, hooligans and robbers, elements who rose to prominence through rebellious activities, persons obsessed with factionalism, and others who have devoted years to undermining the guiding principles for inner-party political life to a serious degree and who have been found guilty of seriously violating economic law and discipline. Fourth, a realistic plan must be worked out for selecting and training outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres. In pursuit of the guiding ideology which calls for selection of "hundreds and thousands of successors," attention must be given to their age, levels of education and professional knowledge, all of which must be evaluated in a well-balanced way. Special attention must be given to the selection of woman cadres and cadres of minority nationalities. During the implementation of the measure to train each candidate according to his specific needs, every conceivable effort must be made to speed up the process of his training. Fifth, in the course of selecting and promoting outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres, successful efforts must be made to resettle old cadres through the implementation of ideological work.

During the meeting, the party organizations of the provincial education bureau and the provincial agricultural office briefed participants on their experiences. Comrade Li Liam [2621 0500 1344], second secretary of the provincial party committee, spoke at the meeting.

9575

(1951-1952) 1239

OUTSTANDING YOUNG CADRES NEEDED IN LEADING POSITIONS

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Zu Qing [4371 3237]: "Middle-Aged and Younger Cadres Are Appointed to Leading Posts"]

[Text] At present, party organizations at all levels throughout the province have selected some 6,054 outstanding middle-aged and younger reserve cadres at county and higher levels, four times greater than the number of similar cadres selected by the end of 1980. So far, of these cadres, some 1,094 have been selected to join leading bodies of all kinds and at all levels as part of a constant effort to improve their outlook as groups composed of revolutionary, well-educated, professionally competent and young cadres.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, party organizations at all levels throughout the province have widely strengthened the sense of urgency and responsibility for the work of selecting and promoting outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres. In a continuing effort to denounce the practice of selecting and promoting cadres in a confidential way, as favored by a few, they have begun an active search for the best possible ways to select and promote outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres. As a result of repeating experiment and a continued effort to sum up experiences, the original practice of nomination by organization departments with the approval of party committees has given way to the process of subjecting candidates to public opinion polls, democratic debate, and small-scale discussions. Today, this process is being backed up by an appeal for upholding the mass line aimed at keeping the public well-informed of the selection and training process conducted under the leadership of party committees. In this way, the road to select and train outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres has become broader than ever. The Hulan County party committee has opened a new path in this direction dubbed "three open ways," which mean making public the list of names of all candidates, the process of their selection, and their training plans. This approach has produced excellent results. Inspired by this Hulan approach, various other localities throughout the province have actively adopted the process of emphasizing democratic recommendation, surveys by organization departments and subsequent approval by party committees as a step in consolidating the contingent of middle-aged and younger cadres on the reserve force, and in making it grow in strength in terms of quantity and quality. As a result of its consolidation, the size of the Jiamusi municipal party committee has

increased by 14 percent as compared with the past, its average age dropped by 2.7 years, and the number of its members receiving higher, secondary and vocational education soared by 27.2 percent. Nearly one-fifth of its comrades held professional and technical positions.

Various localities have continued a search for new ways to train cadres while still keeping their past effective methods as a basis for such training. Suihua Prefecture has assigned more than 130 outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres who lacked experience in work at basic levels to rural communes or factories in order to test out and improve their professional skills. Later, when the prefectural people's congress was in session, it selected 10 cadres as candidates for deputy heads of 6 county people's governments. Of the 10, 9 came from this group of more than 130. Mingshui County has authorized old cadres to train outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres individually or in groups with excellent results. The provincial agricultural and grain bureaus have assigned four outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres on the reserve force to assume principal leading posts in relatively backward localities so that they can vastly improve their professional skills. A year later, three of them have succeeded in changing the outlook of their respective backward units. Some units have authorized old cadres to lead outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres to conduct special investigations as a form of training. As a result, the original idea of allowing middle-aged and younger cadres to go their own way has begun to give way to the practice of training them under specific leadership and in a well-planned way.

9574

CSO: 4005/1289

PARTY AND STATE

SYMPOSIUM HELD ON WAYS TO IMPROVE SENIOR CADRES' LIVES

Jian DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "Study and Plan Improvements in Services for Senior Cadres Who Are Retiring or Taking Leave; Provincial CCP Committee Organization Department and Personnel Bureau Hold Senior Cadre Working Symposium"]

[Text] From 13 to 21 August, the provincial CCP committee's organization department and personnel bureau held a province-wide senior cadre working symposium in Jinan. Those attending the conference earnestly studied the Central Committee's and State Council's resolutions and provisions concerning work regarding senior cadres, exchanged experiences, and studied and planned how to improve services for senior cadres who are retiring or are taking leaves of absence.

At the conference it was pointed out that our province is a former revolutionary base area, and that during the long revolutionary war a large group of senior cadres was trained here. Whether it was in the era of the flames of war and the White Terror or in the socialist revolution and construction after the founding of the PRC, these senior cadres have made great contributions and performed immortal, historical feats. They are the precious treasure of the party and the state. Nevertheless, owing to the effects of the laws of nature, many comrades are advanced in years and their heavy workload is becoming too much for them. In the wake of the technical transformation, there will be a large group of senior cadres who will withdraw from the first line by retiring and taking leave. Making proper arrangements and showing consideration to these senior cadres, who are dedicated to the party and the people, constitute a political task that has been placed before the entire party, as well as a glorious duty that history has entrusted to organization and personnel departments at all levels.

In recent years some of the measures adopted for use in services for our province's senior cadres have, under the guidance of the party committee and government, achieved definite success and accumulated much experience. In order to be politically solicitous of senior cadres who are retiring or taking leave, many locales and units have enlivened the political and cultural activities of these cadres by establishing senior cadres activities offices, by strengthening the organization of activities systems, by organizing trips, by offering recreational activities, etc., based on respective different

characteristics and conditions. They have proceeded from reality, adopted specific measures, and made routine work of solving senior cadres' problems in the areas of medical care, food, housing, transportation, and so on. Through their giving priority to medical treatment, providing articles for daily use, making housing arrangements, solving transportation problems, etc., these locales and units make the senior cadres truly feel the concern and esteem of the party and state.

At the conference it was recognized that we must further improve services for senior cadres so as to enable older comrades to enjoy good health and happily yet usefully spend their remaining years. What needs to be done is the following: 1) The party committee must pay attention to strengthening leadership, regard the work for senior cadres as a major item to be placed on the agenda, frequently supervise investigations, and periodically conduct research. At the same time, it must energetically publicize the party's and State Council's policies in regard to giving priority to senior cadres, and it must propagate the historical contributions of senior cadres in order to create a fine social custom in which people will respect senior cadres. 2) In order to plan overall for the resolution of the problems of senior cadres' retiring and taking leave, each locale should strengthen its work structure for senior cadres, with specialists attending to the duties. 3) We must firmly implement specific measures for treating senior cadres in politics and life in such a way that services for senior cadres will become systematized and become regular practice. 4) Each department must proceed from reality, actively take the initiative in doing a good job of dealing with matters concerning senior cadres, based on their individual situations, and thoroughly implement the party's and State Council's policies for senior cadres.

At the conference, it was required of the organization and personnel departments of the party committee and government at all levels that they must perform their function of creating conditions for senior cadres who are retiring or are taking leave, adopt all measures that suit their circumstances, organize them into taking part in various social activities, and maintain relations with the masses so that they will make new contributions to the party and the people in the building of socialism's material and spiritual civilization. Organization and personnel departments at all levels must earnestly follow the party's and State Council's directives on senior cadres and, in line with the principle of "unchanging basic political treatment but better treatment in their lives," must summarize investigations of the situations with regard to services for senior cadres, adopt measures, and realistically solve existing problems. This, then, will cause people to make political inquiries into, organizationally take hold of, and in their lives be concerned about the work of improving services for senior cadres.

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CSO: 4005/1320

PARTY AND STATE

PROBLEM OF PRACTICING COMMUNISM DISCUSSED

Jian DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Guang Can [0342 3503] and Jing Hua [2529 5478]: "Strengthen Faith in Communism and Its Ideals; Municipal CCP Committee Propaganda Department and Provincial Social Sciences Society Hold Forum To Discuss Problem of Practicing Communism"]

[Text] Yesterday (31 August), the Shandong Provincial CCP Committee Propaganda Department and social sciences society held a joint forum to study and discuss "the problem of practicing communism." Invited to attend were prominent figures from our province's social science circles and leading comrades of parties concerned.

Lin Ping [2651 5493], Shandong Provincial CCP Committee Standing Committee member and Propaganda Department head, and Li Shuxiang [2621 2579 1666], chairman of the provincial social sciences society, cochaired the forum and gave speeches.

The comrades in attendance at the meeting unanimously recognized that fully understanding the problem of practicing communism is of major significance. Wu Fuheng [0702 1381 1854], president of Shandong University, and Gao Zhongzheng [7559 0022 2973], party committee secretary of Shandong Normal University, stated in their speeches that at present there indeed exists some confusion among the people as to the problem of practicing communism. Only by fully understanding this major problem and clearing up various confused understandings can our faith in communism and its lofty ideals be further strengthened, and only then can we consciously use the ideological system of communism to guide our words and deeds in doing a much better job of each item in the socialist enterprise. Higher education is an important arena for training qualified personnel for socialist construction, and at present there is a pressing need to carry out education in communist ideology. Whether it be in the educational system or in the contents of courses, it must be thoroughly carried out.

Meng Xiancun [1322 3759 2625], deputy director of the Shandong Social Sciences Institute, and Zhang Wenjie [1728 2429 2638], director of the Shandong Economics Institute, stated in their speeches that if people must have spirit,

then communists must have the spirit of communism. We cannot practice socialism if we deviate from the spirit of communism, and if we do not use the communist ideological system as a guide, then we cannot build the spiritual civilization of socialism. Communism is not an abstract term but is something that is rich in content. It is an ideology, a movement, a social system, and the ultimate goal of revolution. In regard to its being a movement, in the past 10 years we have been practicing it daily and have been advancing daily. As we practice it step by step, we unceasingly win new victories and thus move closer and closer to the communist social system. We must closely link the cause of socialist construction today with communism's long-range goals of tomorrow, bear in mind the great cause of communism, and honestly and with dedication do each present item of work well.

In their informal talks, the comrades theoretically dissected and repudiated the "vague theory of communism," which is not particular about communism but places emphasis on "material benefits," "planting flowers," "connections," and other erroneous views and vulgar philosophies of life that presently exist in society. Li Xingru [2621 2502 1172], vice chairman of the provincial social sciences society, Zhao Mingyi [6392 2494 0034], deputy director of the provincial Institute for Scientific Socialism, Zhao Li [0340 0536], municipal CCP committee party school director, and others stated in their speeches that communism is an objective truth and is the inevitable trend in the development of humanity and society. To regard communism as a "vague" theory is theoretically unspeakable and in practice does not conform to objective reality. Only by relying on communism, with major emphasis on communist ideology, can we resist and overcome various erroneous ideologies. Song Yi [1345 3015], director of the provincial economics institute, and Gao Xinzhang [6753 2450 4545], deputy director of the provincial planning committee, pointed out in their speeches that communist ideals are the driving force that impels us forward, and that only by blending faith in communism with the cause of socialist construction can we overcome difficulties and do each item of work well. The socialist system of distribution is a major improvement over the capitalist system, but ideological awareness cannot be limited to the level of distribution according to work. We must energetically publicize and encourage communist ideology that is unconcerned with pay.

Comrade Lin Ping pointed out in his speech that educating the vast cadres and masses in communism, inspiring the people's enthusiasm, and arousing the people's fighting will constitute the arduous but glorious mission of the propaganda, theoretical, media, and literary and art fronts. He expressed hope that social science workers will arm their minds with communist ideology, at all times and places be propagandists of communism, and make due contributions to the dissemination of communist ideas.

9926

CSO: 4005/1320

PARTY AND STATE

SPIRIT OF 'FOOLISH OLD MAN' STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 82 p 8

[Article by Xie Yun [6200 0061]: "On Communist Ideology and Practice: For the Benefit of Our Future Generations"]

[Text] When we mention the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains, it is naturally good to think about an indomitable spirit that is undaunted by repeated setbacks but advances wave upon wave and struggles endlessly. But one other point needs to be stressed. That is, the Foolish Old Man continuously dug up the mountains with determination not merely for the convenience of his own coming and going but also (more importantly) for the benefit of future generations. That precious spirit of the Foolish Old Man comes precisely from this valuable mentality.

When the Foolish Old Man began to dig up the mountains he was "at this time 90 years old." Even if the lifespan of ancient people was particularly long, he must have had a silvery beard and white hair, have been old and ailing, and would not have had too long to live. Of course he knew that no matter how hard his family worked he would certainly never see the mountains flattened and the road opened before his death. But he resolutely began the tedious and arduous march. He knew that his descendants would finish his incomplete task and would enjoy the well-being which he could not enjoy in time. But according to the Clever Old Man, one should not waste energy on what one cannot complete or what fruit one cannot enjoy, it would be stupid. Whether one has the mentality to benefit future generations is precisely the basic difference of the spiritual boundary between the Foolish Old Man and the Clever Old Man.

As the old saying goes, one generation plants the trees under whose shade another generation rests. The person who said that might have a positive or negative view, but in any case this saying is itself a historical truth. The absolute majority of the fields, irrigation facilities, all kinds of buildings and the entire scientific culture that we have today is inherited from previous generations. Without the calloused hands and feet of our predecessors and the accumulation of the rich material and spiritual wealth, we would still be living in caves and the wilderness, eating uncooked birds and animals. After all, man is enjoying the fruit of the labor of his predecessors while at the same time he creates more for future generations and opens even more magnificent prospects for him and society. This is the reason why mankind can make continuous progress and become increasingly civilized; it is an important mark that distinguishes man from other animals.

...also, historically there were those people who wantonly destroyed the material and spiritual wealth accumulated by their ancestors. But they were not evil criminals and pests of mankind. To varying degrees, all progressive people are bound to benefit consciously their descendants. Lu Xun, who lived in the turbulence and eternal darkness of old China and who struggled all his life, once said: "Human life at present is truly painful, but after all we must fight for light. And though we cannot discover it, it can be left for those in the future." His famous line "bow one's head and be willing to become an ox for the children." "Children" can be extended to mean the future generations. Countless revolutionary martyrs knew that they could not personally taste the sweet fruit of victory, but they faced death unflinchingly and gladly endured hardships because in their heart there was a clear and firm belief in fighting for a magnificent future for the nation and mankind as a whole.

We are now carrying out the most magnificent and arduous task in history. Many old and ailing comrades diligently carry out the popularization of communist thought and the practice of the communist movement. Even today they are still using their last amount of energy and in a variety of ways they make nothing of the hardships to help build the high-rise of socialism. No doubt they do not hope to move in and enjoy themselves one day. Even the younger people are not merely struggling and working hard for their own benefit. This conscious attitude to benefit the future generations is precisely the sublimation of the spirit of the Foolish Old Man at that time under new historical conditions, which is the carrying forward of the communist spirit and also the important safeguard that we must and can succeed in our task.

People are warmly welcoming the 12th congress of our party. In a certain sense, it is a congress to benefit future generations.

In real life, some people still think that even if the "Four Modernizations" become reality we will never see or enjoy it in our life time. They further believe that communism is too distant and indistinct and as a result they lose the ardor of their initial struggle. Some of them become pessimistic or work diligently to build happy little nests for their own children and grandchildren, putting the benefit of the nation and future generations in the back of their mind. For a very small and immediate gain, some do not even hesitate to ruin and destroy the cause built up over decades by their predecessors. In that case they are not merely pests of the communist movement but they completely go contrary to the spirit of the Foolish Old Man. They are the unworthy descendants of our ancestors and are shameful to our future generations.

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CSO: 4005/1281

PARTY AND STATE

GUIDING IDEOLOGY OF IMPLEMENTING 'TWO CIVILIZATIONS' VIEWED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Commentator: "Firmly Establish the Guiding Ideology of 'Grasping the Two Civilizations Simultaneously'"]

[Text] Since the Party Central Committee launched the movement for "five stresses and four points of beauty" and "civilization and courtesy month," the masses throughout the municipality have responded enthusiastically and plunged into action actively. This phenomenon, for its great strength and broad coverage, has produced many positive social effects and influenced the masses deeply. It is something that has been rarely seen in years. The people's spirit is roused. This spirit has greatly promoted the new practice of loving the motherland, loving the collective and loving the people. The appearance of the city, the factories, the shops and the schools have changed, and the social atmosphere and relationship among men have improved. In this movement of building a spiritual civilization, a large group of advanced units and advanced figures have emerged and a lot of new experiences have been brought about. The experience-exchange rally on the movement of "five stresses and four points of beauty" held in Shanghai Municipality yesterday summed up and reviewed the rich fruits which the city had reaped in the building of a socialist spiritual civilization over a period of time.

At present, the task before us is to reaffirm our achievement and sum up our experience in order to further mobilize and organize the masses in persevering the movement of "five stresses and four points of beauty" over a long period of time and in making great effort to create a new state of the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. The key here is that leadership at various levels must firmly establish the guiding ideology of "grasping the two civilizations simultaneously."

The Party Central Committee has emphasized time after time that, in building a powerful modern socialist country, we must grasp the building of a socialist material civilization with one hand and the building of a socialist spiritual civilization with the other. "Grasping the two civilizations simultaneously" --this is the guiding ideology having important strategic significance. In accordance with the strategic move of our Party's emphasis on work, the building of material civilization has become the central task of our Party and our country. In the new historical period, our general orientation is

to persist in the socialist road and our general task and goal for long-term struggle is to realize socialist modernization. Doing a good job of building a socialist spiritual civilization is the basic guarantee for persisting in the socialist road and realizing the four modernizations. Because in the socialist society, there still remain the old concepts and awareness of the old society, and because the capitalist thinking and bourgeois lifestyle are still corroding us under the new historical condition, especially because of the 10 years of turmoil by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there still remained certain passive phenomena in the people's spiritual outlook and social morality. These phenomena are not in accord with our building of material civilization and are obstacles to the development of our socialist economy. In order to better accomplish the task of building a material civilization, we must raise the building of a spiritual civilization to a necessary high plane. This is a requirement in realizing the general task of the party and is an extremely important characteristic of the socialist system. It is certainly wrong to not exert oneself in grasping the central task of material civilization. It is likewise incorrect to neglect the building of spiritual civilization, to not recognize it as a necessary condition for the building of material civilization, and to not recognize its extremely important role in safeguarding the socialist orientation in economic construction and promoting the development of the building of material civilization. Comrades on the various fronts must put the building of a spiritual civilization as their priority on their agenda, resolutely and tirelessly grasp the task and do a good job of letting the building of the two civilizations motivate each other and promote each other. Whether or not this guiding ideology is resolved properly is related to the major issue of whether or not our socialist cause can be smoothly launched.

While building the material civilization, if we raise the building of spiritual civilization to a necessary high plane, then we not only are acting in accordance with the needs of our country's socialist modernization, but are reflecting the benefits and urgent wish of the masses. Over the past 3 years, we have emphasized the building of material civilization and emphasized working in accordance with the laws of economy. This is necessary and correct. But some comrades' understanding of this is onesided. Consequently, they have neglected the building of spiritual civilization, slackened their ideological and political work, and even misinterpreted the meaning of working in accordance with the laws of economy to mean "look to money." In thinking and in economic work, they have brought about undesirable influences. It is wrong to make the role of the spirit into an absolute one, and to set at variance the building of spiritual civilization with the building of material civilization. However, the spiritual outlook, moral practice and ideological style are extremely important to the building of material civilization. From the practice over this period of time, we can see that good social order, fine working environment, harmonious relationship among comrades and noble communist ideology and moral practice can inspire the enthusiasm of people in labor and work, raise the people's ideological awareness, and transfer the spiritual force and moral force into a gigantic material force in practice. Under the new historical condition of our Party, launching the movement of "five stresses and four points of beauty" and

"civilization and courtesy" is a good way of pooling the wisdom and using the communist ideology to educate and nurture a new generation of socialists; it is a creation of making the Party's ideological and political work to be the work of the masses; it is an important aspect in the struggle against corruption; and it is a mass practical activity in changing prevailing habits and customs and reforming the society. It enables the Party's fine style and tradition and the fine social practice of the socialist motherland to revive and develop. It also enables the masses of people to strengthen their confidence in the basic improvement of the Party style, the social atmosphere and social order. Thus, in resolutely implementing the guiding ideology of grasping the two civilizations simultaneously and in emphasizing the building of spiritual civilization, we not only will not divorce ourselves from the building of material civilization, but will greatly enhance the development of our various constructions.

The core of socialist spiritual civilization is the communist ideal, belief and morality. Why is it that the movement of "five stresses and four points of beauty," which is an important component of the building of a spiritual civilization, can bring about such widespread, deep and far-reaching influence? This is because our Party has firmly grasped the central key of ideological education and, having the clear-cut stand and without departing from reality, has carried out among the masses of people the education in the communist ideology and morality. Furthermore, the fine experiences, fine formats and fine methods which the masses delight in seeing and consciously promote have their base on promoting the communist spirit. In the activity of "five stresses and four points of beauty," the many examples of thinking about others first and feeling happy about helping others have realized the comrade-like relationship among men and have realized the communist style that stresses concern for others over concern for ourselves. A large group of youth service teams and Learn-from-Lei Feng groups have emerged. What they do is nothing spectacular, yet they foster the communist attitude toward labor among young people. The village regulations and people's codes in the rural areas, the "employee regulations" in the industrial and mining enterprises, and the professional morality and standards of various trades and undertakings all contain the collectivist principle of the communist morality. Thus, although the various fronts, various work projects and various units have different concrete contents and requirements as well as various modes of activity in launching the building of spiritual civilization, they all use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as their guide and conduct in an integrated and realistic manner the education in the communist ideology and morality among the masses of people. In sum, the goal of building spiritual civilization is to persistently stand on the socialist and communist ideological front, criticize the ideology and action that are incorrect and harmful to the socialist cause, integrate the masses' experiences and interests, conduct education on patriotism, collectivism and communism, deal blows at evil trends and foster a healthy atmosphere, and enable the masses to become people who have an ideal, morality, civilization and who abide by disciplines.

On the basis of the great achievement scored in the movement of "five stresses and four points of beauty," we must resolutely implement the guiding ideology

1. "Grasping the two civilizations simultaneously," more consciously grasp the building of spiritual civilization, create more lively and fine styles which the masses delight in seeing, systematize and regularize the building of spiritual civilization, truly implement in reality the education in the Communist ideology and morality, and bring about greater success in the building of the two civilizations.

9335

CSO: 4005/1168

LINK BETWEEN MARXISM, HUMANITARIANISM QUESTIONED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 2 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Li Kecheng [2621 0344 2052]: "From a Practical Point of View--Marxism and Humanitarianism Are Not the Same"]

[Text] In his article "From a Practical Point of View--Marxism and Humanitarianism Are the Same" (WEN HUI BAO 12 Apr 82), Comrade Ding Xueliang [0002 1311 5328] held that Marxism inherited the essence of traditional humanitarianism, that their distinction was merely in the method of realizing humanitarianism. He also held that Marx and Engels were not the first persons to link the goal of humanitarianism with that of communism but by the great representatives of the utopian socialism. I think that this view is open to question.

First of all, the ideal goal which traditional humanitarianism and Marxist humanitarianism pursue is totally different.

The utopian socialists' socialism is the "bourgeois ideality." Their freedom and equality are built on the basis of the exchange value. They also "do their utmost to prove that the exchange value initially (in terms of time) or in concept (in terms of its most appropriate form) is a system of universal freedom and equality and that it is distorted by money and capital." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 46, Part 2, p 478) Freedom and equality are the symbols of the liberation of man and are also the factors with which man attains all-round development. Here, what is looked upon as freedom and equality involves what the essence of humanitarianism is and involves the question of what kind of humanitarianism we are talking about.

Since the "liberation of man" is interpreted differently, it is superfluous to talk about who inherits whom. Thus, it is even more superfluous to talk about Marx's thinking of the ultimate liberation of man is inherited from the humanitarian essence of the traditional humanitarianists.

Secondly, the humanitarianists of the utopian socialists did not even know what communism was. Just as Marx pointed out, they "felt that the exchange value would not develop from the form of commodities and money into the capitalist form, or said that the labor in production of exchange value would not develop into wage labor. This is a sincere but foolish wish." ("Complete

Marx and Engels," Vol 46, Part 2, p 478) If they had truly understood the Communism that involves the ultimate liberation of man, they would not describe it "internally but foolish wish." Thus, to say that the utopian socialists embraced the thinking of realizing man's all-round development on the basis of transfer to public ownership is not in keeping with Marx's comments about them. Likewise, it is inconceivable to say that the utopian socialists were the first to link the goal of humanitarianism with communism. On the same basis, the argument that Marx and Engels inherited the essence of humanitarianism from the traditional humanitarianists is untenable.

9311

CSU: 4006/1168

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MEETING OF EXEMPLARY PARTY MEMBERS HELD

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Strive To Become Leading Figures in Building the Two Civilizations. Welcome the Party's 12th Great Convocation With Practical Actions. This City's Meeting of Exemplary CPC Members Puts Forth Proposal to Party Members Throughout City. Comrade Zhong Min [6988 3046] Welcomes Exemplary Members on Behalf of Municipal CPC Committee and Expresses Six Hopes"]

[Text] On 23 July representatives of this city's exemplary CPC members put forth a proposal to CPC members throughout the city: Strive to become leading figures of the 2 civilizations' construction and welcome the party's "12th great" convocation with practical actions. This proposal was put forth at the Shanghai meeting of exemplary CPC members that was convened yesterday (the full text will be published separately).

This meeting of exemplary party members was jointly convened by the municipal CPC committee organization and propaganda departments and was chaired by Yan Jingel [2799 1800 1014], municipal CPC committee standing committee member and propaganda department head. Zhong Min, municipal CPC committee secretary, delivered a speech welcoming the exemplary party members on behalf of the committee.

On the eve of this year's "1st of July," this city's party organizations at all levels altogether selected over 4,000 exemplary CPC members, of which the 210 attending this meeting were their representatives. These exemplary members from every front gathered together yesterday and talked freely about the experiences of earnestly studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, firmly implementing the party's lines, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, wholeheartedly serving the people, devoting themselves to the four modernizations construction, as well as safeguarding the purity of the party's communism, opposing being corrupted by the capitalist ideology, struggling against economic crime, taking the lead in transforming social customs, and obeying discipline and abiding by the law. Giving speeches at the meeting were Yang Huaiyuan [2799 2037 6678], Ding Shi'e [6902 2508 1230], Bao Yueshun [0545 1471 7317], Ge Junwen [2047 0689 2429], Zhao He [6392 6378], and Jiang Jingbo [3068 2529 3134]. Representatives of the International Peace Maternity and Child Care Institute and the Shanghai No 14 Colored Textile Mill presented the respective meritorious deeds of Zhang

[11/28 0160 3796] and Wu Yunzhao [0702 7301 2507]. Delegate Wang Guiying [0702 2710 3391], an exemplary party member attending the meeting, read the proposal to the entire city's CPC members.

Zhong Min, municipal CPC committee secretary, stated in his speech that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, a group of exemplary CPC members has come to the fore in this city by upholding the four basic principles, striving for much better improvements in party practices, opposing being corrupted by the capitalist ideology, and engaging in the four modernizations construction. Their advanced thinking and meritorious deeds clearly show that they are worthy of being vanguard soldiers of the working class. Their exemplary actions spur on the vast party members, which enables the Shanghai party practices to be rather advanced. This clearly shows that the Shanghai party's organization is ready to fight.

On behalf of the municipal CPC committee, Zhong Min expressed six hopes for CPC members throughout the city: 1) They must hold high the banner of communism, uphold the four basic principles, and struggle all their lives for the cause of communism. 2) They must instill the purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people. When a situation arises, they must first consider the benefit to the masses, and be utterly devoted to others without any thought for themselves; they must be lifetime public servants. 3) They must become leading figures in building the two civilizations. 4) They must stand at the forefront of the struggle to oppose being corrupted by capitalism and dare to wage a long, arduous, and sustained struggle against economic crime. 5) They must strengthen organization and heighten the sense of discipline, foster the party's ideology that will be of the most benefit to all, and become models of lawfulness. 6) They must study with open minds, guard against arrogance, and forever keep the honored title of CPC member.

Also attending yesterday's meeting were over 200 leading comrades from each department, committee, and office of the municipal CPC committee and municipal government and from each district, county, and bureau.

9926

CSO: 4005/1244

ACTIVE PARTY RECRUITMENT OF INTELLECTUALS IN CHENGDU REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 82 p 3

[Report by Luo Moucheng (5012 5399 1004): "Adhere to the Policy To 'Emphasize on Political Performance,' Chengdu Actively Recruits Intellectuals Into the Party"]

[Text] The Chengdu Municipal Party Committee correctly implements the party's policy on intellectuals, actively and carefully recruits intellectuals who possess the party member qualifications into the party. Among the new party members recruited in 1977, intellectuals constituted 18.4 percent, in 1980 it was 25.8 percent, and last year 24.5 percent.

The Chengdu Municipal Party Committee believes that in order to make the leading group revolutionized, rejuvenated, knowledgeable, and specialized, it is necessary to correct the long-time erroneous views of intellectuals of some organization departments. Elderly intellectuals no doubt received bourgeois education but they should also recognize that they have been educated by the party for several decades. Middle-aged and young intellectuals have been fostered by our party. The absolute majority of intellectuals ardently love the party and the socialist cause; they work diligently and conscientiously and are earnestly responsible. Their application to join the party should therefore be treated equally without discrimination. However, because some comrades have been under the prolonged influence of "leftist" mentality, they are ideologically apprehensive about recruiting into the party those intellectuals who do not have a good class origin or whose relatives have political or historical problems. Some have biases and have deviated from some of the harsh terms posed by the party constitution.

To bring order out of chaos, the Chengdu Municipal Party Committee stresses strict implementation of the policy to put "emphasis on political performances" among those applicants for party membership who have an exploitative class origin or whose relatives have political and historical problems. All they need to do is clearly to inform the organization about the problems concerning their families and relatives. Political and ideological distinction should be drawn for these people, but they can join the party after they are tested and determined to have the qualifications of a Communist Party member.

After this ideological understanding had been corrected, a large number of "hard-to-resolve" intellectuals have joined the party in recent years. For

Engineer Wang Shao-tong (1905-1976), graduated from Tsinghua University of Science and Technology, Beijing, in 1931, and applied to join the party numerous times since the 1940's. He has been consistently active in his work and has made major contributions to research in high polymer chemistry. He finally joined the party after a prolonged period. Engineer Wang Shao-tong (1905-1976) of the Tianjin Chemical Plant has actively pursued political improvement, studied continuously in scientific research, and has achieved results. For a long period of time he could not join the party because of problems relating to his father-in-law. Only after the organization department corrected the bias toward intellectuals was his problem in joining the party resolved. After these comrades join the party they work even more conscientiously. Many comrades have taken up important leadership work and have made impressive performances.

Wang

CSG: 1005/1281

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

DEMANDS OF MODERN WAR ON MILITARY TALENT VIEWED

Beijing RENCAI [TALENTS] in Chinese No 8, Aug 82 pp 8-11

[Article by Tan Youpeng 6223 0645 7720]: "Modern Warfare's Demands on Military Talents"

[Text] With the full-speed development of military science and technology, a question sticks out: How can military talents meet the demands of modern warfare? This is a new problem facing the armed forces of every country and is also an important problem facing our army in its modernization and regularization drive. In order to study this problem, this article will make a preliminary examination of the demands put on military talents by modern warfare.

Basic Characteristics of Modern Warfare

In the history of human warfare, weapons and equipment have developed from "cold" weapons to firearms to today's guided missile nuclear weapons, and with each development the mode of operation has changed. In the "cold" weapon era, densely packed square formations for close-quarter fighting were adopted so that there was hand-to-hand combat. With regard to firearms, the basic mode of operations was soldiers in combat formation firing in volley. However, modern warfare is three-dimensional warfare in which formations are dispersed to a high degree, and it possesses new characteristics never seen in the history of human warfare:

1. Weapons and equipment are modernized. For half a century, owing to the development of military sciences such as rocket technology, photoelectric technology, and nuclear technology, weapons and equipment have been continually replaced, and there have appeared nuclear weapons, nuclear submarines, long-range guided missiles, highly accurate guided missiles, neutron bombs, satellite weapons, laser weapons, electronic countermeasures, as well as chemical and biological war agents, etc. Carriers have also been continually improved, with a large number of air force planes, armed tanks, and armed helicopters being used on the battlefield, forming a brand-new modernized system of weapons and equipment.
2. Military methods have become scientific. Many sciences are widely applied in the military domain, and the process of making the military scientific has been speeded up. For example, nuclear physics, quantum mechanics, the theory of

relating it, as well as the result of research in many other sciences leading to the manufacture of nuclear weapons, these modern and most powerful weapons for inflicting casualties; on the foundation of the sciences of rocket dynamics, ballistics, electronics, and remote control systems, a brand-new carrier was created--the ballistic missile; and the military application of operations research was produced "military systems engineering," which directly serves the military, and can be used to analyze examples of battles, train units, simulate combat, and study strategy and tactics, and can also strengthen a commander's concept of the situation as a whole, formulate the optimum operational plan, and improve the efficacy of command.

Command systems have been automated. On the foundation of artificial satellites and electronic computers, there has been formed complete sets of automated intelligence reconnaissance and command systems suited to the characterizing of modern warfare. The automation of military command systems has freed commanders from the work of dealing with highly detailed intelligence reports, making campaign and tactical calculations, and making and analyzing all sorts of determinations and plans, so that they can concentrate their energy on engaging operative organizational and command activities. In the world, there have been astonishing developments in the command systems of modern warfare. Every kind of intelligence report gathered by reconnaissance systems and intelligence departments can be fed into an automated command center and then be analyzed, judged, and displayed on screens, so that within 1 or 2 minutes the military posture of the enemy and ourselves around the world is shown, thus rapidly and accurately providing the commander with a basis for making his operational decisions.

4. Military operations have become faster. In a war under modern conditions, the initial effect and speed of military operations have been sharply increased. For example, an intercontinental guided missile that is over 10,000 kilometers away can strike its target with lightning speed. Again, for example, during the fourth Middle Eastern war, U.S. reconnaissance satellites discovered a new movement in the enemy's military operations, and the Department of Defense, using modern means of rapid communications and liaison, and through the use of rapid communications and liaison, in 3 minutes had transmitted the information to all military facilities, and naval forces in every

dimensional, all branches of the armed forces, and armed strength has become total. In a future war, in a high-tech, multilayer combat situations, the battles will be in a state of "saturation," battles will be fought on a zone and scale will be unprecedentedly enormous. The military operations will be carried out in 1981 at a certain place in the world. Our military will be based on the characteristics of our army's modernization and regularized operations by all

completely summarize the characteristics we have listed are

...and, first, modern warfare makes it necessary to totally transform military talents and impels the military talents to "take off"; modern military talents must conscientiously analyze and study the new characteristics, new situations, and new problems of modern warfare, mastering the laws of modern warfare, and only then will there be a new situation of continual development.

Modern Warfare Imposes Higher Demands on Military Talents

Under the new historical conditions, science and technology are advancing by leaps and bounds, weapons and equipment are changing with each passing day, and the international situation is changeable, adding new characteristics to modern warfare and in particular imposing higher demands on modern military talents.

First, the scientific nature and technological nature of modern warfare are continually increasing, imposing higher and higher demands on the scientific education and knowledge of military talents. Today, in the 1980's, the level of scientific education and the intellectual makeup of military talents are already becoming an important indicator in judging the degree of modernization and regularization of an army. At present, the proportion of officers on the active list in the U.S. armed forces who hold academic degrees exceeds 90 percent. In the Soviet armed forces, 100 percent of the officers at brigade or above, over 90 percent of the officers at regimental level or above, and 100 percent of the first- and second-grade officers commanding ships have received higher military education, and all the high-ranking general officers are graduates of military academies or schools. Owing to the special features of the times, our army has developed from one that had "millet plus rifles" to one that now has some advanced weapons and technological equipment, and the commanders at all levels possess a definite level of scientific education, but compared to the U.S. and Soviet armies there is still a definite gap. From this one can see that the commanders of our army must try hard to study and master scientific education and knowledge, doing all they can to catch up and narrow the gap between us and the enemy in educational level and intellectual makeup, so as to meet the requirements of a future war against aggression.

Second, mobility and surprise are greatly heightened in modern warfare, and this puts stronger and stronger demands on a commander's concept of time. In modern warfare, both attack and defense forces rely more on the use of fast, mobile forces. The Warsaw Treaty bloc headed by the Soviet army stresses fast attacks, employing on a large scale masses of tanks and armed helicopters to make swift and violent firepower attacks on the enemy's positions, and employing a large amount of its air arm's fast and mobile forces to mount destructive raids deep in the enemy's rear, so as to break up the enemy's army's groups or capture important objectives. The NATO Treaty bloc headed by the United States has organized rapid reaction forces in order to withstand a surprise attack by the Warsaw Treaty bloc. Both sides regard speed and mobility as an important means of surprising the enemy by a surprise attack. Obviously, the speed of military operations determine the decisiveness of military talent in making strategic decisions. Therefore, in peacetime a commander must acquire the combat style of acting vigorously and speedily so that in wartime he will be able for every minute and second and will vanquish the enemy.

... when the ... and ... has become more ... war has always been ... domain ... danger, ... According to ... 14, ... to ... by the monster ... which parties will take ... surprise attacks with ... in the large ... and densely populated regions ... military facilities and ... but also the casualties inflicted on people ... It is thus clear that modern military ... of an arduous nature and ... will ... will to suffer a lot ... and have a spirit ... that ...

... coordination, concentration, ... We become more ... of modes of operation and ... thinking ... from conventional command ... requires that military ... profound resourcefulness and subtle operational ... there are no ... independent ... coordinated operations of all service ... the enemy ... and ... the front must be considered ... the rear must also be considered ... that all service arms ... and ... This will be a severe test of military talents. The material requirements and ... of modern warfare are growing ... and ... the rear is ... modern ... good logistical support work and ... of the ... the ... of intense fighting the ... several ... circumstances, not only will the ... but also an important factor in ... will be water ... of logis-

... that the ... are the ...

... that ...

... military talents, we discovered the following key elements:
... military talents should possess extensive knowledge profound
... and resolute courage.

... knowledge is the basis for mastering modern warfare. Generally
... successful military talents have laid the foundation for their
... ability on extensive knowledge. A modern military talent, in addi-
... tional qualifications, not only must be intimately familiar with
... of war, be proficient in military strategy, and master the principles
... and tactics, but also must possess many-sided knowledge and ob-
... knowledge of military theory, weaponry, military history, foreign armies,
... technical knowledge, as well as knowledge of astronomy,
... and meteorology and scientific knowledge such as that of mathe-
... , physics, and chemistry. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "An army that is
... is a stupid army, and a stupid army cannot vanquish its enemy."
... in warfare under modern conditions, if the commanders do not master
... education and knowledge and specialized techniques, they will not
... display the role of modern military science. For example,
... do not understand operations research, they will lack the concept of
... situation and the ability to do comprehensive work, it will be hard
... select the optimum operational plan; if they do not understand
... psychology, then they will not be able to accurately master people's
... and it will be hard for them to organize logistics and training in
... against war and to command operations; and if they don't under-
... technical functions and the methods of utilizing
... technology and equipment, then in wartime it will not be possible to
... effect of this technology and equipment.

... press that modern military talents have extensive learning
... that they be "proficient in everything" and become "all-
... " but to require that they have an understanding of those
... principles that are relevant to modern warfare and that they have
... of knowledge, so that they have extensive knowledge and
... in military science and specialized technology, with the
... the special and the special bringing along the general"
... "expert in one thing and good at many," which will cause them, in
... to respond to the enemy with facility, sweep away dangers and
... difficulties, and "not be deluded."

... resourcefulness is the spirit that masters modern warfare.
... that the accumulation of extensive knowledge is important,
... military talent who possesses a high degree of mili-
... accumulation of knowledge is inadequate; one
... resourcefulness. Resourcefulness means that, when
... the enemy, one quick-wittingly and cleverly "devises
... the strategems far-reaching and many-
... , leaves no weak spot for attack, and sub-
... strategems. Resourcefulness mainly includes the capacity
... , organize and command as well as to carry
... and train.

Our ancient military strategist Sun Tzu summed up military strategy in a principle: "When strength is equal the many will defeat the few, when strength is equal the intelligent will defeat the stupid, and when the situation is equal those who know what they are doing will capture those who do not." The meaning is that when political conditions are the same, the army with many soldiers will defeat the army with few soldiers; when military strength is equal, the army with an intelligent commander will defeat an army with a stupid commander; and when the battlefield posture is equal, the army with a commander who knows strategy will defeat an army whose commander does not know strategy. In the history of our country's wars, there have been many military talents who were wise and full of strategems and who were adept at defeating powerful opponents by their resourcefulness, and they wrote many glorious chapters in the history of the wars of the Chinese nation. Examples of battles like Sun Bin's "Ambush at Maling" and Han Xin's "Deployment with the back to the river" fully reflect the level of strategic thinking and operational command of the ancient military talents. In modern times, Comrade Mao Zedong was a brilliant example of preeminence in wisdom and proficiency in strategy. He and our party's strategists of the older generation, in leading the Chinese revolutionary wars, operated from strategically advantageous positions, thought deeply and planned carefully, applied flexible and subtle strategy and tactics, swept all before them, made the enemy tremble with fear, and defeated the extremely vicious Japanese oppressors and caused the collapse of the 8 million-strong army of the Kuomintang reactionaries. The outstanding achievements of these heroes inspired the intelligence and wisdom of our army's officers and men. In a future war, for our army with inferior equipment to defeat the enemy with superior equipment, the main thing is, on the basis of certain material conditions, to rely on the full display of people's subjective activity and to rely on the whole body of officers and men, particularly the commanders at all levels, under a general operational plan, to be quick-witted, courageous, and resourceful in handling all sorts of situations. This requirement cannot be met unless we are more resourceful than the enemy. Therefore, we must strengthen the training of commanders in strategy, improve their ability to "derive strategems within a command tent," and provide them with a "capacity to master all changes and developments in war." Only once our troops are thus able to display our strong points and strike at the enemy's weak points, so that the inferior will vanquish the superior.

Our courage is one of the main weapons in modern warfare. The famous saying "Victory belongs to the brave" is well known. Material cause and effect are inseparable from spiritual cause and effect. The "spiritual cause" is the "cause of the cause of the cause." That is, what is the "cause of the cause of the cause" in the modern military talents themselves?

Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out: "In any war, the question of morale is a key question. The morale of the troops is determined by the morale of the masses." In modern warfare, whether morale is high or low, it is determined by the morale of the masses. Comrade Mao Zedong has also pointed out: "The morale of the troops is determined by the morale of the masses." In modern warfare, whether morale is high or low, it is determined by the morale of the masses. Comrade Mao Zedong has also pointed out: "The morale of the troops is determined by the morale of the masses." In modern warfare, whether morale is high or low, it is determined by the morale of the masses.

river banks and lake sides; and Comrade Stalin, amid the rumble of gunfire, still held a pipe in his mouth and leisurely savored the fragrance of the smoke. These are vivid manifestations of commanders of campaigns, with military strategy in mind, remaining steadfast and calm, as stable as Mount Himalayas.

2. A steadfast and persevering will. Modern warfare is not only a trial of strength between material, manpower, and intelligence, but also a contest of willpower. Therefore, modern military talents must have indomitable, unsurpassable fighting spirit and a high degree of willpower in overcoming countless, before they can defeat their opponents.

3. Decisiveness in making strategic decisions. This is mainly shown in "speed" and prompt decisions in military operations. In the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, the U.S. brain trust in the fastest possible time collected intelligence and put forward specific plans, and Kennedy decisively made the strategic decision to impose a blockade of Cuba. Five days later, Khrushchev was forced to submit and withdraw his missiles from Cuba. Under the circumstances in which modern technology and equipment have been developed to a high degree, there are thousands of changes in the war situation and the opportunity for combat is fleeting. If a commander is indecisive and hesitant there is the possibility that he will lose the opportunity for combat, which will cause unexpected, serious consequences.

4. A spirit of bravery. Some people think that modern warfare depends on the power displayed by advanced weapons and technical equipment, and that the role of a spirit of bravery on the part of military talents is not all that distinct. Actually, this is not the case. Just as Engels said: "Guns cannot fight themselves. It takes courageous hearts and strong hands to use them." It has been seen that the new-type weapons have increased the power to inflict casualties by several times or even several tens of times, and when both sides are fiercely firing during a surprise attack, the first thing that will be tested is people's spirit of bravery. At a critical juncture, if a commander "turns with a head and tigers behind" and becomes as "timid as a mouse," then even if he has modern weapons and equipment he will be passive and will be defeated.

Summing up what has been stated above proves that the three key elements that modern military talents must possess are extensive knowledge, profound fearlessness, and resolute courage.

In the forward development of modern warfare, our country's military talents will swiftly develop in the direction of becoming knowledgeable, highly trained, technicalized, and intellectualized, and will fly side by side with modern military science and technology.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

QUALIFICATIONS FOR GOOD STAFF OFFICER DESCRIBED

Beijing RENCAI [TALENTS] in Chinese No 8, Aug 82 pp 30-31

[Article by Wang Wanli [3769 8001 6849]: 'How Does One Function as a Military Staff Officer?']

[Text] Since the early part of the 19th century when the Prussian general Scharnhorst, adopting to the changed conditions of warfare, reformed the command system and set up a staff headquarters, the armies of various countries have one after another followed his example. Through over 100 years of substantial development, there is today a comprehensive staff system for making strategic decisions. The staff officers and the commanders together do the organizational and command work for battles, campaigns, and an entire war. The quality of staff officers often has a direct effect on army operations. What should be the qualifications for a staff officer in the people's army? This article tries to present some views on his style of writing and his soldierly virtues. First to be discussed will be the style of writing.

Seek facts. This includes having a boundless sense of responsibility and a spirit of studying assiduously. The staff officer is the commander's assistant, and he must be good at getting deeply involved at the frontline, the training ground, and various work realities.

He must make solid investigations and studies, accurately and timely master firsthand materials, and before the senior officer makes a decision or on a major problem, put forward his own suggestions and opinions, and rationally maintain and scientifically expound and prove his own quality viewpoints. Because every senior officer has different experiences, temperaments, and levels, it is certainly not a light thing to dare to report situations in the manner of seeking truth from facts, especially to report painful reality. This is because the person who reports these things always bears the brunt of the senior officer's dissatisfaction and anger. "A thousand gentlemen's 'Yes, yes' is not as good as one gentleman's outspokenness." A staff officer must have a spirit of being impartial and admonishing without reserve. Those hypocritical work styles that, regardless of objective reality, announces good news but not bad news, adjusts behavior to the senior officer's expression, trims his sails to the wind, and painstakingly rigs reports to suit the senior officer's liking do the most harm to others and lead to a bungling of matters. When discussing this question, we must prevent an anomaly in it, viz, obstinacy and

himself. When maintaining his own viewpoints and opinions, a staff officer must not forget democratic centralism and the principle of the lower rank obeying the higher rank, and must be good at examining his own shortcomings and mistakes and bold in conducting self-criticism. In work, it is possible that one will get a dressing down and be wronged a little bit, but one must be strict with oneself and generous toward others and one cannot brood over injuries.

If one were to think that staff work is only a matter of copying and writing, calculating and drawing, that would be a big and a particular mistake, because a staff organization is not a structure of the same category as a computing center or a message office. The main activity of a senior officer is to think. In war, the complex posture of the enemy and ourselves, the various intelligence reports about which it is hard to distinguish the true from the false, and the accidental things that suddenly crop up require extensive knowledge and a brain that is good at analysis, and one must also have a spirit of assiduously studying before one can do creative work. A staff officer must be good at sitting down (for a professional military man this is perhaps not an easy thing to do) and, in a spirit of "gnawing at tart fruit," extracting from mounds of materials things of the nature of laws. In a unit there is frequently this kind of situation: a comrade does pretty good work at a basic-level leadership post, but if he is transferred from his feudui and his training ground to an office, although it is not difficult for him to be equal to the job of writing words and numbers and dealing with maps, by comparison, he lacks the spirit of patient, meticulous study that this job requires and he is more habituated to action. As for people who are divorced from reality like Zhao Kuo and Ma Sui, who indulged in exaggeration, and like Wang Hui, who for over a dozen years was a prime minister in the Song Dynasty and only knew how "to receive imperial decrees, understand imperial decrees, and transmit imperial decrees"--the "three decrees prime minister"--they can never be tolerated in a staff organization.

Efficiency. It is known that a staff officer must report the most complex viewpoints of an army in a simple, clear manner. He should cultivate the habits of tightening things up, being particular about things, and being efficient. "Speed is precious in war." The cerebrum of an army--its headquarters--first of all must have the capacity to react swiftly. If it is said that land warfare in the era when hourglasses were used to measure time was estimated in terms of days and months, then today's three-dimensional land, sea, and air warfare is calculated in terms of minutes and seconds. With the introduction on the battlefield of a large quantity of new-type weapons, such as military satellites, electronic weapons, and tactical guided missiles, and with the use of nuclear weapons, campaigns and battles have become extremely fierce and short, and superiority and inferiority, victory and defeat are frequently decided in the twinkling of an eye. "Time is an army." (Engels) A staff organization cannot allow dilatoriness, the formalities of dressing up, and frivolous discussion. According to records, the great emperor of ancient Rome, Julius Caesar, once on an expedition won a total victory and his orders were contained only three words, "Veni! Vidi! Vici!" meaning "I came! I saw! I conquered!"

text is a great asset. Especially under modern conditions, it is not enough to have a good control, does not lead the reader in a clear direction, but good at grasping the crux of the matter and swiftly moving it from details, then the positiveness and creativeness of the staff organization will be submerged in the text and there will be the danger of losing the opportunity in battle. Of course, succinctness is definitely a necessity. The text must contain pertinent data, and the phrases and sentences must be refined so as not to produce different interpretations. This is a very high demand, and without arduous tempering one cannot do it.

Fig. 1. When helping senior officers on various problems in conducting a battle or campaign, a staff officer bears a heavy responsibility, a responsibility for the victory or defeat in the entire combat situation and a responsibility for the lives of countless comrades-in-arms. They should consciously cultivate, in their meticulous style of doing things, the habits of being totally absorbed and being conscientious and painstaking; of being strictly punctual; of not being disturbed by things happening outside and having the articles one needs at hand always in order; and of being able to take the initiative without being urged or reminded to repeatedly examine oneself. It is hard to imagine that a person who is slovenly in life and undisciplined in work style, when occupying this kind of post, will not make careless mistakes. Under all sorts of conditions, one of the main qualifications for a staff officer to do careful, thorough, and painstaking work is an accurate memory. This kind of memory can, through tempering, be continually improved. In the liberation war period, when Comrade Zhou Enlai was chief of the general staff, he not only knew intimately the establishment, equipment, and characteristics of all units in our army, but also even had committed to memory the enemy's situation in every battle zone up to the temperament and habits of the enemy chieftains, and he calmly anticipated the enemy's movements and found them away. A staff officer who has no way to work without books and reference books and notebooks is far from being equal to his job.

Intense vigilance and protect secrets--this in peacetime, and especially in wartime, has always been a characteristic of the work style of staff personnel at all levels. This requires that staff personnel at all times must hold military secrets like the apple of their eyes and that they know only what they should know, and also keep their mouths shut. They must be very careful when they are in frequent contact with the commander's staff, and must be as being better than ordinary comrades by revealing nothing that is heard and seen. Excessive curiosity, including the habits of gossiping, have left an endless legacy of harm. In 1918, a high-ranking German staff officer inadvertently divulged to an American businessman the secret that the German Army was planning a decisive offensive against Verdun. The American businessman then passed this news to U.S. officials, and the United States, after confirming this piece of intelligence from many sources, immediately made advance preparations to meet the German Army, which suffered a crushing defeat in the Battle of Verdun.

Now I will turn to a discussion of soldierly virtues.

Courage. Ordinarily, staff officers in a command organization do not need to wear a steel helmet or carry a submachinegun, or to be in a forward position where they and the enemy are "looking at each other with blood and iron," but they are similarly confronted with all sorts of dangerous tests. The higher the position of a staff officer, the less he is involved with the question of individual sacrifice and the more he is involved with the question of the lives of other people and the safety of the whole. This not only requires the courage to brave physical danger but also the courage to bear responsibility, i.e., the courage to brave mental danger. Frequently there is this kind of situation: some people, when far removed from danger and when they do not need to take responsibility, can perhaps make correct judgments and make normal decisions and plans, but when danger and responsibility come by surprise from various sides, they lose the capacity to view the situation as a whole, and they lose this capacity because there is no help from objective conditions and also lose the capacity to make decisions.

"Whoever thinks that he will foresee everything in war, I would advise not to make war." (Napoleon) To take methods that will reduce risk is necessary and also possible, but a person who thinks he can completely avoid risk will not necessarily be a good staff officer, because a fairly large goal and a fairly large victory are always linked to fairly large danger. The leap forward of 1,000 li by the Liu [Bocheng]--Deng [Xiaoping] army was a risk. With a change in the situation, there was perhaps no way to realize the operational plans, but under the conditions at the time there was no doubt that these plans were correct.

"The broadest and widest things are handled with the most care and precision." This kind of risk is not merely a matter of not fearing death and is not a matter of blindly trusting to luck, but is the courage to foresee developments in the war situation, carefully and thoroughly understand circumstances, and meticulously plan and prepare on an organized basis. "It can be compared to using the sharpness of weapons and shining, true steel." (Clausewitz "On War") The greater it is inspired by intelligence and understanding, the greater its role, and thus it creates all sorts of marvellous spectacles in war.

Resourcefulness. Resourcefulness means the ability to meet an emergency. If we were to say that the work of a scientist only involves dealing with the material natural world, then the work of a staff officer is to pit his will and intelligence in all aspects against an equally highly developed enemy. It is not only fighting and killing with metal and with flesh and blood, but is even more a trial of strength of will and intelligence. "No other activity of mankind is like war in giving to chance, this unexpected guest, such a vast world." (Clausewitz, "On War") It gives the outstanding role of people's subjective activity this vast world. A staff officer's intelligence is often embodied in his senior officer's determination and puts a destructive brand on the enemy's operations. In 1943, during the Kiev campaign in the Soviet Union's air defense of the country, the staff officers of the headquarters of the

the Soviet Red Tank Army put forward what looked to be an unusual suggestion. They advocated that the tanks turn on their front lights at night and, sound- ing sirens, charge the enemy defenses. The result was that, by this move, what was denounced as "sick," a great success was achieved. On the eve of the Arab-Middle Eastern war, an engineering officer of the Egyptian Army proposed a surprising plan: the use of water hoses when charging the "Bar Lev defense line." The Egyptian army adopted this plan and broke the myth of the "impregnability of the Bar Lev defense line." The arrangements and plans made by a staff officer under all sorts of circumstances are not re- quired to be as remarkable as a legend but are only required to be effective and suitable.

Staunchness. This means a will that has the capacity to resist fierce attacks and is able to maintain control under all sorts of circumstances. Although the two words--staunchness and bravery--are somewhat close in meaning and are often substituted for each other, I think the difference between them cannot be overlooked. Marshal He Long defeated the enemy while fishing; Marshal Chen Yi, while talking and laughing during a game of weiqi, deter- mined the victory over a strong army. Under these circumstances, a staunch will enabled them to maintain their composure and calm at the most exciting moments, and through this composure and calmness they attained a reliable guarantee for the controlling role of the intellect. The more dangerous, difficult, and painful the moment--the fierce shocks of enemy air raids and artillery fire, the heaviest attacks of a major victory or defeat in a war, the great provocation or individual misfortune--the more concentrated their thinking, the keener their minds, and the more rational their ideas, and they certainly did not alter their plans a thousand times for a thousand reasons.

War not only demands that staff personnel for a day or two, or a week or two, be able to endure the test of this kind of arduousness and fatigue, but also demands that, throughout the period of an entire war, they maintain abundant energy and a vigorous will to fight, and it cannot be imagined that a person of frail physique would be able to endure this kind of heavy pressure on his nerves and physical strength. What is different from military science and from science and technology is that no commander can give strong physiques to his staff officers. They should effectively temper themselves. Crossing mountains and swimming, gymnastic movements, sleeping in the open, and staying up late, and, when conditions exist, firing, riding horses, and driving are all indispensable methods for this tempering. First of all, a staff officer should become an excellent military man, after which he can become an excellent staff officer.

When a staff officer would be educated in the style of writing and in the style of thinking in special academies and schools, and he can also learn on the job during peacetime work, but more important is that he temper himself under various trials and put himself through the mill in harsh conditions, and then he will have a high degree of professional proficiency. When a future war against aggression he will with inferior equipment defeat his enemy with superior equipment.

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RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION LEADERS ON FREEDOM OF RELIGION

shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 82 p 2

[Report: "Freedom of Religious Belief Is the Party's Fundamental Policy--Well-Known Personalities in the Province's Religious Circles Discuss Draft of Revised Constitution"]

[Text] The provincial CPPCC and the provincial religious affairs office have invited well-known personalities in religious circles above the standing committee and council level of the provincial Buddhist Association, the Taoist Association, the Islamic Association, the Catholic Patriotic Committee, the Catholic Religious Affairs Committee, the Christian Association, and the Christian "Three-Self" Patriotic Committee to discuss the draft of the revised constitution.

Chairman Xu Zhenjiang [1776 2182 3068] of the Catholic Patriotic Committee said: The provision in the draft of the revised constitution on freedom of religious belief is the party's fundamental policy on religious questions in the socialist period; it is the basis for loving the motherland and loving religion, as well as the basis for unity; we must heighten our perception and deepen our understanding. In the case of Catholicism, in particular, it has had myriad connections abroad in a rather complicated way; we must heighten our vigilance, insist on our independence, and run our own churches and not subject ourselves to foreign control. Shi Bo [6641 3134], president of the provincial Buddhist Association, said: Seeing that the draft of the revised constitution has incorporated overall and concrete provisions on religious questions, we are very pleased. They not only prescribe freedom of religious belief, but the state also protects normal religious activities. We Buddhists are determined to love the party, love our motherland, love our religion, and dedicate our strength to the building of the "two civilizations." The secretary general of the Provincial Buddhist Association, Guo Zhi [2654 2535], said: "In providing adherence to the four basic principles, the draft of the revised constitution reflects the will of all people of the country; these are the foundations of our motherland, the four indispensable pillars. We must continue to study, heighten our patriotic and socialist consciousness, and make contributions to the four modernizations."

'UNWHOLESOME EFFECTS' OF YE WENFU'S TALK, POEM CRITICIZED

University Party Committee Reaction

Beijing GAOJIAN ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 1, 13 Jan 82
pp 8-10

[Article by CPC Beijing Normal University Committee: "Heighten Our Perception; Earnestly Change State of Laxity and Feebleness"]

[Text] During the past half-year we have, through our study and implementation of the "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the important speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, and Hu Qiaomu concerning questions on the ideological front, the spirit of their speeches, as well as the spirit of the national work conference on ideological and political education in schools; we have done some work in overcoming our own state of laxity and feebleness toward criticizing the trend of bourgeois liberalization; and we have acquired the following perceptions and understanding.

On 10 April last year, Comrade Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395] came to our university to make a report on "Poetry and I" to students of the 1979 class in the Chinese Department; that report touched on many ingredients which far exceeded the realm of poetic creation. In the political aspect alone, he expressed many erroneous views about our current domestic situation, our socialist system, the party's guiding ideology, party leadership, the country's Constitution, etc. The erroneous nature of some of these views is very serious and is in direct violation of the four basic principles; this has had a very bad impact on the students on campus. At the time, not a few students clapped their hands in favor of his talk. But many students expressed resentment about his talk. Some students debated with him after his talk, and some students started to argue once they returned to their dormitories and thereby criticized his erroneous expressions.

Although we rather quickly understood and reported this situation about such an erroneous, erroneous talk, we failed to adopt effective measures in time to curb the undesirable effects thus engendered. After we conveyed the spirit of the Party Central Committee's forum on questions on the ideological front, we paid attention to doing our work in the following areas:

In order to, at once, in unifying our thinking and heightening our perception, we organized communists and teachers, students, staff, and workers of the whole university to study and implement the spirit of the central authorities. And we adopted three measures: one was to grasp the party committee's own study and organization study; leading cadres at the university-wide and department levels; the second was to grasp study by teachers of various arts departments; and the

Comrade Ye Wenfu by the 1,000 core students across the campus (party members, ideological education cadres, and party activists). During the discussion, everyone pointed out that Comrade Ye Wenfu had given a talk here at our university and clearly recognized two objective realities in existence: the sure existence of the trend of bourgeois liberalization. Comrade Ye Wenfu's talk, together with the poems with serious erroneous tendencies which were published before and after that talk, constitutes a salient example of this erroneous trend, whereas the reaction Comrade Ye Wenfu aroused while giving the talk at our university in turn serves to illustrate that some of our students have actually become influenced by this erroneous trend. The second [objective reality] is that a state of laxity and feebleness in our leadership work does exist. Keeping in mind the university's actual situation, participants in the study all sought to analyze and explain how the existence of the trend of bourgeois liberalization has had its causes in many aspects but how, in our failing to effectively resist and overcome this trend, the party leadership's laxity and feebleness have become saliently manifest. In order to effectively resist and overcome the trend of bourgeois liberalization, the leadership must change its laxity and feebleness so as to pull itself together and strengthen itself.

In the beginning of the study, there prevailed among a small number of cadres a doubtful, hesitating sentiment. Through study and discussion, everyone gradually changed his attitude and heightened his perception of the need to overcome the danger of the trend toward bourgeois liberalization and the leadership's laxity and feebleness. Some comrades said that the core of bourgeois liberalization is to set off and oppose the party's leadership, and that laxity and feebleness in the part of the party leadership are equivalent to its abandoning its own ideological battleground and giving the green light to the trend toward liberalization. One comrade said: "Any depreciation of or deviation from the socialist ideological system implies a strengthening of the bourgeois ideological system."

We will, therefore, use up the weapons of criticism and self-criticism and criticize the trend of bourgeois liberalization and other unwholesome tendencies. We must begin with the leadership itself, with our standing committee members and party committee members. The first step is to heighten our perception of the importance of criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism constitute our party's fine tradition and fine style. Only by using these weapons regularly can we communists resist the encroachment of various political dust and political errors and continue to rectify the defects in our work, overcome our ideological faults, and heighten our own political consciousness, thereby preserving forever our ideological purity. In terms of overcoming erroneous ideas such as liberalism, we must start from the weapon of criticism, because erroneous things can never just disappear by themselves. It can be said that criticism is the key to the four basic principles in a socialist society. Only by criticizing and overcoming the trend of bourgeois liberalization can we determine whether or not the proletariat can occupy the ideological battleground in our schools and to how we are going to train our future leaders. On the basis of heightening our perception, we should gather our standing committee and its standing committee together and deal with them in a serious and effective manner. By means of criticism and self-criticism, reveal the contradictions in our work, performances, profoundly analyze the causes leading to these contradictions and mistakes, and thereby formulate the concrete measures for their correction.

...liberalization, laxity, and feebleness in the work of our leadership and...
...In terms of ideological and political work, the principal manifestations are: 1. Failure to criticize energetically various erroneous tendencies, especially the tendency of liberalization, and failure to handle in time or handle decisively certain cases of violations of the law and disruptions of discipline. 2. Failure to support energetically those comrades who adhere to the four basic principles. 3. Ideological feebleness is bound to lead to organizational laxity. Situations and problems below can often fail to be reflected above in time, and decisions of the party committee often fail to be implemented. 4. Some comrades say that feebleness and laxity are interdependent and mutually causative. When those above are feeble, those below are bound to be lax; and the more lax those below are, the more feeble those above become. Without conscientiously overcoming such a state of feebleness and laxity, how can our party organizations retain their advanced character and give full play to their fighting stamina?

The reasons for such laxity and feebleness are in the main the fact that we have failed to study sufficiently the party's principles and policies, and while we do sense somewhat the erroneous trends popping up from the Right at the time we are criticizing mistakes of the Left, we dare not launch the necessary struggle sharply and in a forthright and confident manner, and we are afraid of "not being able to master the situation surely" and of other people saying that we are swinging the stick; hence we end up standing idly by. Another reason is because we have failed to concentrate our main energy in grasping party building and ideological and political work, especially in grasping ideological and political leadership in the realm of teaching, in closely grasping ideological and political work among teachers, and in bringing ideological and political work deep into the realm of teaching. Thirdly, we have failed to grasp well the building of our political work contingents; leading groups at the university-wide and department levels are also far from being healthy enough. In addition, we are bogged down in our daily routine and our leadership style fails to be sufficiently penetrating, with the result that our party organizations fail to demonstrate their fighting role as they should.

While the party committee and party committee members launch their criticism and self-criticism, we should at the same time advocate launching criticism and self-criticism among party and CYL organizations at various levels and among our party members and students. We have, for example, gotten together with responsible comrades of the Chinese Department party general branch and related departments and research offices to study repeatedly the incident of having had Comrade Huo Jiaqi come to give a talk on the Normal University campus, in the context of how we should cleanse away its unwholesome influence and absorb experiences and lessons therefrom and thereby improve our party work and teaching. In this connection our basic attitude is this: We must in a clear-cut manner uphold the four basic principles as the norm of our words and deeds and resolutely combat them; with respect to the trend of liberalization in violation of the four basic principles, we must sharply launch our criticism; with respect to the trend of class struggle in the midst of a portion of the masses on our campus, we must insist on ideological education, and that is to insist on the principle of "united front, united front, united front" in insisting on seeking truth from facts, and insist with a view to helping others, and to insist on democratic centralism, to more patiently and carefully, and to

to writing toward simplicity and awkwardness, and refrain from doing so. The correct approach--from within the party to outside the party, and from the more cadres to the masses--is to do our work stratum by stratum, to guide everyone step by step to make a distinction between right and wrong in our ideology, and to adhere to a correct political orientation. During the period of such work, the vast ranks of cadres and masses have further heightened their perception of the importance of adhering to the four basic principles and the danger of the erroneous trend of liberalization. Some students have consecutively written articles critical of Comrade Ye Wenfu's erroneous viewpoints, and the university journal has published such an article critical of Comrade Ye Wenfu, entitled "Criticizing Comrade Ye Wenfu's 'I Am a Marxist'".

Third, we must formulate concrete measures to overcome the state of our laxity and carelessness. These measures include strengthening our ideological and political work, strengthening our organization construction, improving our workstyle, and similar things. Beginning last semester, we asked the various departments to put the study of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" in a salient position and to further carry out education among students on the four basic principles. In the meantime, we also launched massive discussions and criticism against the erroneous trend of bourgeois liberalization. From now on, we must apply still more forms to criticizing the trend of liberalization in order to cleanse away its evil influence. We stress the need to reinforce the theoretical battleground of Marxist ideology, and we endeavor to bring ideological and political work deep into the field of teaching. In certain social science subjects, we require that teaching and scientific research be combined with criticism against erroneous trends. In order to comprehensively implement the party's "double-hundred" policy and actively launch our academic discussion and academic criticism. Recently, together with cadres and teachers in various departments, by reviewing teaching materials, listening to lectures, holding forums, and other such means we have concentrated on studying how to improve the quality of our teaching in the arts, and especially how to reinforce the ideological character and fighting character of our teaching. We have also purposely become involved in ideological work in our teaching practice and have enabled participating students to receive various degrees of education and training in their vocational thinking, professional capability, and similar aspects. Students of the Department of Political Economy and the Philosophy Department recently proceeded to carry out field surveys in conjunction with their practice teaching in Tai'an, Shandong, and other areas; they made rather great gains in their political thinking and ideological study. On the basis of the spirit of the work conference on ideological and political education convened by the Ministry of Education, we have actively sought to improve and reinforce our ideological and political work in order to clarify our educational orientation, strengthening the content of our education, perfecting organizations and institutions, and strengthening the building of our ranks in political work--especially with respect to ideological education and organization and management among the students. We have laid emphasis on assured overall implementation of the party's principles of education, adhered to the orientation of both Redness and expertise, and earnestly endeavored to make the students develop morally, intellectually, and physically in a comprehensive manner. We have likewise further stressed the

CHUNG KWA TIAO ZHANKIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 3,
Vol. 42, p 22

Article by Chen Yu [2525-3936]: "Some Thoughts on the So-Called
Resist Leftism Type"

1. College students of today, just like those of any
other age, have their superiorities and good points, and naturally
also have some unsatisfactory areas. Regarding this point, people
have a great variety of comments, and some people place emphasis
on a superiority called a "resist leftism type."

2. I am not sure of the actual implications of this description. If
it refers to the ability to distinguish and resist leftist errors,
an ability which many university students learned from the process
of summing up the historical experiences of the party and the
people, that of course is very valuable and this description
would be acceptable. However, I can't understand why the com-
munist who offer this description do not emphasize the fact that
contemporary university students also have the ability to
discern and resist bourgeois liberalization ideology which
undermines party leadership and deviate from the path of
socialism. This also is a valuable ability to possess. I believe
the neglect of this point prevents an overall view and also is
unfair.

3. We should have the highest respect for the "resist leftism
type" and I wish to encourage and promote this. If the actual im-
plication of this description is to advocate this type, of course
there is nothing to find fault with. This is because the
elimination of mistaken leftist ideology from our actual work
is continued and completed. However, if we correctly view the
situation and deny that overcoming bourgeois liberalization
ideology and its influences is now an even more urgent and press-
ing task, and one which requires that we wage a tough battle.
Under such conditions, merely encouraging university students to
be of the "resist leftism type" and not encouraging an interest in
the struggle to resolutely repress mistaken rightist ideology simply

... or method. A correct attitude and method
... to arm themselves with the scienti-
... Lenin-Vladimir Lenin, and con-
... ability to distinguish and reject the
... and rightist mistaken ideologies.

... attitude, which is also there are objec-
... and socialist, people of different
... viewpoints can turn a correct thing into either "left-
... or rightist. Cardinal use of "leftist" perceptions of the
... left tendencies seem correct and will make correct-
... tendencies. Such people now exist and will
... in the future, and they should be opposed. Just the same,
... use of bourgeois liberalization perceptions of the world
... rightist tendencies seem correct and turn what is correct
... tendencies against which an "anti" attitude is taken.
... people like this, and in time to come this
... will require increasing attention. Some
... criticism of leftist mistaken tendencies
... "revise" the four fundamental principles.
... example. This so-called "resist leftism
... is only a tendency toward bourgeois liberalization.
... believe that in order to ensure that the descrip-
... "resist leftism type" does not provide cover for bourgeois
... tendencies, the comrades who offer this description
... to drawing a line between a "resist
... and bourgeois liberalization tendencies. Otherwise,
... for the young students and other people
... a "resist leftism type." It is just like
... the people in the front fall off
... and an unenlightened leader steps
... behind to the other side, and even
... the result that the people behind fall
... the river. I only hope that
... or youth workers ever use such leadership.
... from such teaching? The consequences, if
... but if serious could be the very

... to overcome the influ-
... the introducts of bourgeois
... along the correct
... students and are the
... and they also should
... of college stu-
... of influence of
... others were corrupted
... and will not
... the future

...encourage! The use of Marxism-
...to educate young students will cause
...the four fundamental principles and support
...this is an undertaking which should
...by education and youth workers.

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Since 1948 the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth Party Central Committee, the Party's educational policies in our province have undergone very great changes. Compared to 1947, higher institutions of the full-time type have increased from 10 to 25; the number of students attending college has increased from 1,000 to 10,000. During the past few years, we have contributed to the national movement more than 1,000 college graduates and recruited 693 graduate students. During the past 3 years, newly constructed school housing space has reached about 10 percent of all existing school housing; we have increased teaching equipment and built a number of teaching office buildings, laboratories, gym halls, teacher-staff-worker dormitories and student dormitories.

research, of which 1/3 are at an advanced level domestically and 5/100 at an international level. During the past year, the higher institutions have rendered technological consultation service more than 500 times, signed more than 100 technical agreements with production units, and trained more than 10,000 technical cadres for production units.

Scientific research in our province has also scored eminent improvement. Closely in line with reality, the institutions carried out education on Marxism-Leninism and Communist morality among the students as well as education on "New style" and "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" activities, and brought about profound changes in the students' ideological and spiritual aspects. Last year, higher institutions of the whole province selected 1,000 students; of the 111 groups participating in advanced classes, 347 students have joined the CPC.

In carrying out moral education, higher institutions of the province at the same time generally undertook to raise the quality of teaching. Many institutions and schools stressed sending teachers with practical experience to the front line of teaching and at the same time stressed teaching in basic theories, strengthening the link of laboratory experiment, and trained middle-aged and young teachers according to plan. In addition, work on the students' physical education and health protection was also further emphasized and strengthened.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, higher institutions in our province have conscientiously implemented the party's policy on intellectuals and made a point of treating them equally in politics, using them in their work, and taking care of them in their living conditions. At present, there are 34 virtuous and talented medium- and high-level intellectuals shouldering leadership duties in schools, departments and centers; 1,000 intellectuals who have joined the party; and 260 elected delegates to people's congresses at various levels and CPPCC committee members. During the past year, 11 professors, 810 associate professors, and 5,269 lecturers have been promoted. The working and living conditions of intellectuals, especially middle-aged intellectuals, have undergone some improvement: more than 1,000 have moved into new housing units, more than 4,000 have had their salaries improved, and more than 1,000 have had their problem of family reunification solved. The implementation of our policy on intellectuals has further aroused their socialist enthusiasm and forcefully promoted their teaching and research work.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has decided to hold the 11th Party Congress on 1 September. This is a big happy event in the history of all the people of the country, and also a very important event in the history of higher education in our province. We are determined to make new contributions to the gradual establishment of a socialist educational system suited to our national conditions and the training of talents for the motherland's construction.

... and who has to perform duties ranging from just an honorary membership of a committee to vice president of the Academy itself. He is also in charge of a research office, with a staff of 10-15 people, and is the head of the very basic scientific research unit--as a result, he is very busy. Even if he is a genius, it is still hard for him to do so many down-to-earth tasks."

Secondly, those fulfilling academic leadership duties in all kinds of institutes, departments, units and academic associations are responsible for appointing academic titles, for titles, awards, promotions, starting salaries, etc., applying for scientific research funds, for space and publishing writings, etc. All depend on the word of the leader. Under ordinary circumstances, without minimal supervision and control, many scientific and technical personnel and teachers (graduate students, especially doctoral candidates), their scientific projects, cannot be included in institutional plans, and their work cannot be approved. In some basic-level units, without approval of the leading organs' recommendation or approval, research papers cannot be published. This situation seriously hampers the growth of talent.

Thirdly, in the famous 1134 Hospital in Shanghai, among the senior medical directors there are six who are already too old and cannot perform operations; middle-aged physicians have long become the main force in the front line. But because the old experts are still in the leading posts, middle-aged cadres simply cannot be promoted or protected from demonstrating their dominant roles.

Fourthly, under ordinary circumstances, people in their old age are not very active in terms of mental activities; this is the best explanation for the situation. When they reach their 60's and 70's, as a result of the gradual loss of vitality they can hardly make creative contributions. Along with aging, different degrees of obsolescence of knowledge become evident. In view of this situation, the vast ranks of scientific and technical personnel, engineers and technical personnel, and the personnel of the scientific, technological, cultural and educational units, must be able to change the aging situation at the academic level, research level, cultural and educational units of various levels, and in the various organs to facilitate the rapid growth of our scientific and technological development and the development of our scientific, cultural and educational forces at various levels. To this end, it is necessary to shorten the term of office limits of the leading organs and generally appoint and talented old experts as advisers or consultants. They can serve as advisers or shoulder the heavy responsibilities of the leading organs and professors. There should be a system of appointment and retirement systems; after many years of service, their political treatment and living amenities should be improved. They should be able to ensure their peaceful life in their old age. They should be able to continue to shoulder teaching and research tasks. Their positions should also be provided with a certain amount of honoraria and can be preserved for posterity.

PMW 1971 (NO. 1) EDUCATION STRESSED

BEIJING HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT [Higher Education Front] in Chinese No 5 May 82
p. 10-14

1971. 10. 25. Lu Jialing [1951. 11. 30. 0407], Class 77, Department of Computer Science, Ninghua University: "Grasp the Two Links Well in the Student's Ideological and Political Works"

1971. 10. 25. Lu Jialing, class party branch secretary. Speaking from my own experience, I think that in order to strengthen the students' ideological and political works, we must grasp well two important links:

1. Grasp party building well and deal with the students' communist ideological education.

It is necessary to say that the main stream of the students today is good. However, some students' thoughts are active but complicated, some of them are even unhealthy. Facts indicate to us that in the process of forming their world outlook, the college students are in pressing need of the sound leadership of our party organization.

One question is concerned whether our students' communist ideological and political education is far remote from their current ideology. In fact, such a question is not far from the truth. The question is whether such education is effective. In 1971, the 100th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto and the Historical Resolution, the student organizations' understanding of some most fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, their communist ideals and clarified their own political beliefs. During the seminar, the students were full of vigor and enthusiasm, they actively engaged in heart-to-heart talks, they were united, sincere, stern and lively scene. After the seminar, the majority of the students who attended the seminar wrote a summary report on their study. The general impression was that the seminar was well organized and it should be continued. The seminar had achieved outstanding results was because, first, the seminar was for a definite, concentrated on the main issue in the current ideological and political work. The participant said, "I have been through the stage of poem-writing for the seminar, I have been through the stage of line struggle; I have

...and have been perplexed. I have read books on all schools of thought and all sorts of ideas. But Marxism-Leninism has given me confidence and a powerful ideology has given me direction in my life and a sense of progress. I have finally returned home, like the Yellow River flowing into the big ocean." Here we can see that our students pursue ideals and place hopes on our party organization.

Over the past year for our party branch, I have become convinced that ideological education should be closely connected with party building among the students. In 1978, right after entering the university, some of our class submitted applications for party membership. However, influenced by various incorrect ideological trends in society, our ideological and political works encountered a difficult situation for a time. Some students began to waver, became suspicious; some even rejected the four cardinal principles. Our work in all areas (including the students' moral conduct, organizational discipline, and their academic work) was then less than satisfactory. Some activists no longer attended party lectures, or participated in these related activities. Some told us that "from now on I only want to be a true person; I no longer wish to join the party." However, our party organization did not give up its position on the ideological front and did not stop developing party work. Gradually, a group of backbone and activist students shaped up, like a rolling snowball. We have, on the one hand, insisted on the party membership standards all along. We "do not canvass; do not recruit." Joining the party must be a voluntary act. On the other hand, we will actively help the students' maturation by themselves. Party members are assigned to help those students who had expressed their wish to join the party, and persistently provide party education. Thus, a group of backbone students was trained who in turn motivated the masses of our students. Over the past 4 years our branch organization has recruited 10 party members (an average of three for each class). We also sent party members organized into groups to lower classes with no party members to build the party. This has not only strengthened the party's position on the ideological front but also steeled our members. Owing to the branch organization's efforts, some of the students who had wished to "be a true person" have changed their mind. They thought our branch organization to talk about the roundabout course they took in their thinking. One student said, "one who breaks away from the correct political direction and wishes to be a true person, is, in fact, losing himself on himself, thus is losing his clear direction in life, and is going downhill." He stated that from now on he would make active efforts to join the party soon. Some senior year students, at the time of their impending graduation, still submitted their applications to our organization, stating that though it would not be quite possible for them to join the party during their stay in the university, having, however, chosen a right political direction and with a year's self-reflection, they wanted to make further progress from now on towards that direction. A few students, generally, only 10 or so non-member students attending our party-organizing meetings. But recently at one of our recruiting meetings, 70 non-member students attended. Only last year more than 100 students submitted their applications for party membership. This

where $\gamma = \gamma_0 \exp(-\alpha_0 t)$ is in constant proportion to $\exp(-\alpha_0 t)$ (ideal) or $\exp(-\alpha_0 t)$ is constantly increasing.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or goal. This involves understanding the current situation, identifying the key issues, and determining the desired outcome. This step is crucial as it sets the direction for the entire process.

[illegible]

The socialist system aims at gradually diminishing the differences betw. manual and mental labor, achieving the alliance of manual and mental labor - alliance of the intellectuals, the workers and the peasants. If the students do not participate for a long time in manual labor and are not in contact with the workers and peasants, they cannot realize the trust the people and the people are paying to train them through their studies. Thus, it is very difficult for them to take the stand of the working people in their attitudes and thoughts and feelings. Furthermore, proper manual labor can build up the students' practical working ability and adjustability to their environments; it can also foster good moral character and expand practical knowledge in all areas.

In order to actively promote labor education among university students and hold firmly to it, we must include this task in our plan, form it into a system, and make it an important component to examine the students' thought and moral characters. In organizing labor education, we need to differentiate the situations. For example, for the lower classes the emphasis should be placed on voluntary participation or participation in manual labor through which the students can have a lot of contact with the workers and peasants; while for senior classes subject area-related labor should be appropriately increased, which will also be useful for the students to gain insight into life and get acquainted with their future working environment. In the process of manual labor, we must carry on necessary ideological education, praise the good, criticise the less satisfactory so as to truly achieve the goals of our labor education.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRUPEL SOCIALIST PERSON-TO-PERSON RELATIONS

CHANGSHU XINXIANG FISHUO (NEW HUNAN COMMENTARY), in Chinese No 7, 82, Jul 83, pp 10-12.

[Article by LU Ruitong (1120 7608 1347): "Develop Proper Person-to-Person Relations Under the Socialist System"]

[Text] One of the requisites for the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization is the establishment of a comradely person-to-person relationship based on equality, mutual help, and cooperation. In order to correct the party workstyle, foster a desirable social climate, and establish a socialist spiritual civilization of a high order, it is essential, from the point of view of person-to-person relations, to put an end to such improper practices as cultivating personal "connections," to eradicate the vulgar and corrupt practice of promoting the "art of cultivating personal connection," and to have a correct understanding of what the person-to-person relationship should be in a socialist society.

1. The type of person-in-person relationship is determined by the system governing the ownership of the means of production; the "art of cultivating personal connections" is a product and vestige of capitalism.

The person-to-person relationship forms an important link in the chain of production relations. The system of ownership plays a decisive role in shaping the various elements of production relations. In other words, the type of ownership determines the type of person-to-person relations. The slave ownership system leads to unequal relations between slave owners and slaves; the feudalistic ownership system results in unequal relations between landlords and peasants; the capitalist ownership system creates unequal relations between capitalists and workers. With the establishment of the socialist system, the ownership is a socialist society, the exploiting class has ceased to exist. The bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the people and masses have become the masters in socialist production relations, under which "everybody is engaged in labor, every man contributing his labor" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. 3, p. 111). Thus, the nature of labor has undergone a basic change. It has become the privilege and responsibility of every member of society and has ceased to be a target for exploitation by the capitalist exploiters. The activities of interchange between people in the process of production have of necessity become an interchange of labor. The relationship

of the interchange of labor among workers is that of mutual service, in line with the principle of "all for one and one for all" (in Lenin's words). "We must," Lenin said, "direct our efforts toward the extirpation of the damnable conventional idea of 'everybody for himself and let God take care of us all.' We must seek to inculcate into the minds of the masses the principle of 'all for one and one for all' and make it a part of their lifestyle...." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 104). The workers who produce the machinery and such necessities as clothes, food, housing, and the means of transportation, the peasants who produce food and subsidiary agricultural products, the intellectuals who produce food for the mind, the commercial and financial workers who establish a link between producers and consumers, the managers who, through their arduous labor, organize and provide leadership for social production and coordinate the activities of the parties concerned, and all those in the various trades and businesses who contribute their labor to society may, in the wider sense, be regarded as stewards at the "service" of the people. This person-to-person, comradely type of relationship based on equality and mutual help under the socialist system is built on the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production and is shaped by the relationship among the working people arising out of the exchange of their labor. It is because of the solid foundation in our society of the socialist system of public ownership that the relationship among the people marked by harmony and love constitutes the main current in the person-to-person relationship in our society. This is a point which must be fully affirmed.

Naturally, certain problems still exist in the person-to-person relationship in our society. The problem of "cultivating connections" is one of the unbecoming practices prevalent in our society today. This improper practice has been satirically dubbed "connectionology" by some people. What does "connectionology" mean? It means the study of how to cultivate connections and how to take advantage of one another. In all their dealings, those who practice the art of "connectionology" inevitably abide by the principle of "putting connections first and matters of principle second" and resort to the exchange of goods in order to cultivate person-to-person relations. Once one has established connections with those in power, "there is nothing under the sun that cannot be done." If, on the other hand, one were to try to discharge one's official duties strictly according to the rules rather than cultivate "connections," one would find oneself up against a stonewall. As a common saying goes, "No matter how much weight official regulations may carry, it is not as much as the words of a person in a position of influence." Those who are accustomed to cultivating connections are not above using their authority and even risking their careers to reap personal profits. If you have something to ask of me, it is up to me to use my power to get something out of you, and if I have something to ask of you, then it is up to me to use my power to do you a favor, including tangible material benefits or the means to obtain such benefits. This practice of returning a favor with a favor is a way to use one's power to gain personal profit. The use of "connections," which in essence is an exchange of power and the gaining of an advantage on a reciprocal basis, is a disguised form of a shady deal involving the offering and acceptance of bribes. It goes without saying that, basically, this "connectionology" is diametrically opposed to the comradely person-to-person relationship under the socialist system. This type of "connectionology" is, by its

very nature, a pattern of the person-to-person relationship in capitalist society. In the words of Marx, the capitalist class, "by debasing one's human dignity and using it as a medium of exchange," "reduces the person-to-person relationship to the level of naked mutual self-interest and precludes the existence of any relationship other than that of the heartless and cold-blooded 'exchange of cash'" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 253). It is obvious that this type of decadent "connectionology" is a tradition and a vestige of capitalism, and not a product of the socialist system of public ownership.

Since the system of public ownership of the means of production has a determining effect on the person-to-person relationship, and since the person-to-person relationship under socialism has its roots in the socialist system of public ownership, the decadent "connectionology" cannot be a product of the socialist system of public ownership. For this reason, we are fully determined in and confident of our ability to perfect the new form of person-to-person relationship under socialism and to stamp out this decadent "connectionology." There is in our mind no scientific basis for the pessimistic view that looks at the evil practice of "connectionology" as an "incurable disease."

2. The type of person-to-person relationship plays an important part in shaping the ownership and distribution system, while "connectionology" tends to destroy the socialist ownership system and the system of paying to each according to his work.

The type of person-to-person relationship is the product of the system of ownership of the means of production. However, person-to-person relationships also have an immense capability for shaping and exerting an influence on the system of ownership and distribution. For generations, the exploiting class has shown great concern over the immense effect that person-to-person relationships have on the systems of ownership and distribution. If it were not for the fact that the slaves have to depend on their owners for their very lives, that they have no choice but to do the biddings of the slave owners, and that they are no more than subservient tools capable of articulation, then it would not be possible to maintain the slave ownership system, under which the slave owners claim full ownership of the means of production as well as of the slaves, and the slave owners would no longer be able to continue the raw and naked exploitation of the slaves. If it were not for the fact that the peasants have to depend on the landowners for the land they till and that the landowners have absolute control over the peasants, then it would not be possible to maintain the feudalistic ownership system and for landowners to maintain the feudalistic ownership system and for landowners to fatten on the fruits of exploitation through the collection of rents and interest. If it were not for the position of subordination occupied by the workers in relation to the capitalists, then it would not be possible to maintain the capitalist ownership system and for the capitalists to squeeze every last penny out of the workers. Under the exploitation ownership system, therefore, it is necessary for the minority of exploiters to use every means to maintain the unequal relationship of the ruler and the ruled, and the large number of the exploited, in order to maintain the private ownership of the means of production and the system of distribution which makes it possible for the exploiters

to make profits effortlessly--and which condemns the workers to the fate of having to labor without profit. In the present socialist society, despite the extravagant claims made by the capitalists that they have substituted "a new type of person-to-person relationship" for the antagonistic class relationship between the workers and the capitalists, the relationship between the ruling capitalists and the enslaved workers remains essentially that of the person-to-person relationship existing in a capitalist society. The capitalist enterprises, aside from using managers, factory directors, supervisors, and foremen to exercise direction over the workers, also compel the workers to conform with the various demands of the system to observe rules that impose a limitation on the freedom of the workers and that serve to control and enslave the workers. The relationship between capitalists is one that is marked by mutual deception and an overt or covert "dog-eat-dog" format. This type of person-to-person relationship in a capitalist society serves to further expand the capitalist private ownership system and develop the distribution system which makes it possible for some people "to make a profit without having to lift a finger," while others "labor without profit."

Under the socialist system, there is no basic conflict of interest among the people. Motivated by common ideals and common goals, everybody cooperates in a comradely manner to develop production and contribute his share of labor in order to meet the requirements for the establishment of a developing material civilization in the entire society and to make it possible to develop to a fuller extent the positive and creative aspects of socialism. Thus, it will be possible to steer the enterprises steadfastly toward the socialist course, to contribute to the consolidation and development of the socialist system of public ownership and of paying to each according to his work, and thus to give impetus to the development of the productive capacity of the entire society. In order to fully develop the positive role that the socialist person-to-person relationship can play in the socialist system of public ownership and of paying to each according to his work, we must make the proper resolution of the contradictions among the people the main objective in the political life of the nation and promote a good party workstyle and social climate so that there may truly exist a spirit of harmony and love among the people.

The cultivation of connections and the practice of taking advantage of one another associated with "connectionology" have a most devastating effect on the socialist system of public ownership and of paying to each according to his work. In the name of "cooperation," those who seek to exploit the use of connections by resorting to devious "connections" and illegal "channels" furtively keep the backdoor open so that they may engage in the exchange of goods and the unauthorized trading of commodities, turning vital productive raw materials, equipment, and products that are under government control into "gifts" offered and accepted as bribes and into "conditions for exchange"; thus they do serious damage to the national plan and weaken the economic foundation of the socialist system of public ownership. This "connectionology," furthermore, serves as a potent weapon used by criminal elements to drag other people into the quagmire, to "pave the road with cash and materials" (a confession made by Ma Xiguang [7456 0823 0342], a criminal guilty of swindling and bribery), to use all sorts of "connections" to take whatever action is necessary to accommodate particular people, to cater to their pleasures, to

set a secret trap to enlist corrupt cadres and the masses to further their criminal objectives by wining and dining them and by giving them presents in the form of cash or goods. By cultivating connections, using their power to solicit bribes, or using bribes to acquire power, these people make a travesty of law and discipline to acquire sudden wealth, to squeeze the last drop of blood and sweat out of the people, and to undermine the foundation of the nation. Since "connectionology" is a most potent and dangerous corrosive, we must be fully determined to make the greatest effort to eradicate this corrupt "connectionology" in order to consolidate and develop the socialist system of public ownership and of paying to each according to his work.

3. Since the person-to-person relationship is formed and developed under the massive counterreaction of the superstructure, it is absolutely essential to uphold the purity of communism and to combat the corrosive effect of capitalist ideology in order to stamp out "connectionology."

The type of person-to-person relationship is determined by the system governing the ownership of the means of production. This is not to say, however, that it can be left to develop and flourish on its own on the foundation of the ownership system. Rather, it is influenced by political control and ideology and shaped and developed by the massive counterreaction of the superstructure.

The ruling class in any society, in order to maintain the existing system of ownership and the person-to-person relationship best suited to such a system, must enlist the support of the superstructure. In the process of maintaining and developing the person-to-person relationship characterized by the control of capital over labor, the capitalist class must enlist the support of the superstructure of the bourgeoisie. Taking the British "encirclement movement" as an example, members of the bourgeoisie forcibly drove the poverty-stricken peasants into the cities to become drifters and then, by enacting laws dealing with drifters, drove them into the factories, "making them inured to the discipline required by the system of hired labor" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 805) and subjected them to capitalist rule so as to maintain and perpetuate the person-to-person relationship characterized by the rule of capitalists over labor. As was aptly pointed out by Marx, "The bourgeoisie can depend not merely on economic forces alone, but also on the help of the power of the state, to protect their privilege of acquiring an adequate pool of surplus labor" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 300).

The molding and development of the new type of person-to-person relationship in a socialist society must also depend on the momentous countereffect of the socialist superstructure. The socialist person-to-person relationship is set up under conditions obtaining in a dictatorship of the proletariat. First of all, the proletarian class establishes its rule and reforms the capitalist class by resorting to revolutionary forces to smash the counterrevolutionary forces of the capitalist class and overthrow the person-to-person relationship characterized by the rule of the capitalists over labor maintained by the bourgeoisie through its resort to counterrevolutionary forces. By its very nature, the capitalist class is opposed to such a relationship vis-a-vis the

proletariat. That being the case, between the two there is a heated attack and counterattack and a struggle between reform and counterreform and between the forces of corruption and anticorruption. The "three anti" and "five anti" struggles wages in the early 1950's are an indication of the immense effect of the socialist superstructure in the process of molding and developing the socialist person-to-person relationship. After the exploiting class has ceased to exist as a class, class struggle will to a certain extent continue to exist on a long-term basis, owing to domestic factors and outside influences, and may even be intensified under certain conditions. Those elements that are antagonistic to socialism can be expected to engage in subversive activities politically, ideologically, culturally and in life in society and to seek to sabotage by various means the socialist system of public ownership and the socialist person-to-person relationship. That is why we must maintain a high degree of vigilance and wage an effective struggle against the various acts of sabotage perpetrated by those elements opposed to socialism.

The trading of power on a reciprocal basis and the practice of taking advantage of one another inherent in "connectionology" did not emerge out of nowhere and for no reason. Rather, a most baleful influence can be exerted by a decadent superstructure. In the subversion of the socialist person-to-person relationship at a time when the subversive effects of "connectionology" had reached rampaging proportions, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made full use of the power they had usurped on the one hand and of the corrupt and rotten ideology they had inherited wholesale from the exploiting class on the other. By using the power they had usurped, they imposed a fascist dictatorship and lorded it over the people. Those who engaged in speculation and shady deals to gain advantage for themselves, those who resorted to sycopancy and who blew their own horns, and those who did their bidding in an obsequious manner were appointed to important posts, while the cadres and the masses who dared to stand their ground and to oppose them were subjected to merciless suppression and persecution. There were those who, bending to high pressure and adjusting to the prevailing climate, threw principles to the wind, played havoc with the relationship between superiors and subordinates like dirt, curried favors from their superiors while dealing with their subordinates by using official-ese and showing no concern for their grievances, and catered to the whims and wishes of their superiors in an obsequious manner. Furthermore, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did their utmost to give currency to such ideas as "the person-to-person relationship is one of personal profit," "that all living things have to rely on force to seize what they want is a lesson to take to heart," and "the relationship between human beings is [similar to] that among wolves, and nothing can be bought or sold without resorting to deception." That obviously was an attempt on their part to find justification and to create favorable public opinion for "connectionology," which approves of the mutual struggle for personal profit and the gaining of personal advantage at the expense of others, and to revive the capitalist person-to-person relationship marked by "naked self-interest."

The "connectionology" of the capitalist class cannot be expected to vanish on its own, nor can the socialist person-to-person relationship be expected to take shape and thrive without a struggle. At the present time, the erosion of corrupt capitalist ideas remains a grave problem. An important mission now

confronting us is how to deal a blow to the serious criminal activities in the economic sector and to continue to wage a struggle to the end against that which is corrupt and degenerate. In order to safeguard and develop the position of the people and the masses as their own masters, to preserve the socialist person-to-person relationship characterized by the spirit of harmony and love among the people, and to completely extirpate the "connectionology" based on the exchange of power and the practice of gaining advantage for oneself at the expense of others, it is essential to apply the forces of the revolutionary superstructure to vanquish the forces of the decadent superstructure. On the one hand we must, with might and main and with speed and determination, use the law as a weapon to deal sternly with serious economic criminal cases through the proper legal process, to strike a crucial blow against serious criminal activities in the economic sector, and to vanquish the forces of corruption. On the other hand, we must resort to the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to wage a sustained struggle against the corrupt ideology left behind by the old society or introduced from abroad, and we must promote education in the socialist legal system and the communist code of morals in order to extol the excellent tradition of the party's workstyle and to deal a death blow to corrupt ideas. If party members and those who work for the nation would firmly uphold the purity of communism and make a conscious effort to stem the erosion created by the ideology of the capitalist class, and if the entire party membership and the entire people would act in unison according to the proper procedures and without regard for personal feelings, we are confident of our ability to put an end to the decadent "connectionology" and its improper practices and to create a thriving social climate of comradely mutual cooperation on the basis of equality and of harmony and love among the people.

9621

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FUTURE OF HONG KONG SEEN AS OPTIMISTIC

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 8, 1982 pp 19-20

[Article by Yen Yuan-chang [0917 0337 4545]: "An Analysis of the Question of Hong Kong's Future"]

[Text] 1. Ownership and Administrative Rights

The question of Hong Kong's future is certainly very complex in its details. But simply stated, there are only two basic questions: the first is the question of ownership and the second is the question of administrative rights. In other words, it is a question of decisionmaking and a question of management. Ownership and administrative rights can be combined into one or divided into two, just like decisionmaking and management can be the same thing or two different things.

When one holds ownership, one can of course hold administrative rights at the same time, but one can also hold ownership alone and release administrative rights. A decisionmaker can certainly manage at the same time, but one can also make decisions while not managing, by allowing others to manage. For instance, a landlord does not have to personally manage rental affairs; he surely can entrust someone else to manage them for him. A car owner does not have to be a driver himself; he can hire someone else to do the work for him in the same way.

These are my views on Hong Kong's future, and the way to resolve the question of Hong Kong's future can also be found in such views.

2. Who Owns Hong Kong in the Future

Whoever is to make the decisions for Hong Kong in the future obviously depends on who owns Hong Kong at that time. However, this primary question concerning Hong Kong's future can be said to have long been peacefully settled in an accord between China and Great Britain. China has officially and unofficially declared that Hong Kong belongs to China and is part of China's territory. Great Britain's attitude toward China's declarations has always been acquiescent. In that case, the question of Hong Kong's sovereignty has actually been resolved long ago and has been brilliantly done. It was a case of resolving latent military confrontation into political cooperation. Recently it has been

rumored that China wants to take back Hong Kong's sovereignty and that Great Britain has been acquiesced as usual. This is something expected, and there is no cause for alarm.

3. Taking Back Hong Kong's Sovereignty and Taking Back Hong Kong

Some people in Hong Kong naturally wish to see that China does not take back Hong Kong's sovereignty, so that the status quo will be maintained without change. Otherwise they would feel that disaster was imminent. If Hong Kong really faced a change in political power, such feelings would be understandable and would deserve sympathy. But in reality that fear is almost like "imagining that the sky might fall."

This is because it mechanically puts "ownership" and "administrative rights" together, in the mistaken [belief] that "decisionmaking" inevitably means "management." Therefore, when it is said that China wants to regain sovereignty over Hong Kong, people believe that China will retake Hong Kong, and they cannot help but imagine "imminent disaster." Actually, "regaining sovereignty over Hong Kong is absolutely not the same as "retaking Hong Kong." In "taking back sovereignty over Hong Kong," all that is to be taken back is merely Hong Kong's "sovereignty." As for "taking Hong Kong back," that means taking back all that belongs to Hong Kong, sovereignty and everything else. Therefore China is merely "taking back Hong Kong's sovereignty," and the people of Hong Kong should have nothing to fear. If China were to "take back Hong Kong," it would be a different matter.

4. Failing To See the Larger Issues, and Letting a Golden Opportunity Slip By

China merely wants to "make decisions" for and not "manage" Hong Kong; the people of Hong Kong should be grateful. If one is satisfied only if China does not even want to "make decisions" for Hong Kong, then this is a failure to see the larger issues. What does this mean? On the one hand, how can we agree that Hong Kong should permanently become a British "colony," and how can we be willing to become permanently the "subjects" of a British colony? On the other hand, why should China not expediently retake Hong Kong's sovereignty as a whole when the day for retaking the sovereignty of the New Territories draws near, instead of letting a golden opportunity slip by, giving up its rights and humiliating the country? From this, [we can see that] retaking Hong Kong's sovereignty really makes sense, and we can be at ease with the inevitable major event.

5. China Makes the Decisions; Britain Manages

People in Hong Kong worry that there may be serious effects in their future life: Who will manage when China makes the decisions for Hong Kong? In other words, when China regains Hong Kong's "ownership," how can Hong Kong's "administrative rights" be exercised? This should really worry everyone.

To have China manage? In China, the unprecedented modernization and large-scale construction have involved many tasks and kept everyone very busy. In addition, Hong Kong's social structure differs from that in China to varying

extents. If China managed [Hong Kong] by itself, it might not do well. Then how about having the people in Hong Kong manage it themselves? The objective circumstances do not permit this, and the subjective conditions are not fully present. I believe that for a rather long period of time, the administration of Hong Kong is best handled by the "old manager." A familiar job can be done with ease, and practice makes perfect. Clearly stated, it is best to have China "make decisions" for Hong Kong in the future and have Britain "manage" it. If China and Britain value "Long live friendship," and cooperate for each other's benefit, nothing could be better.

6. Free and Equal

As for how Hong Kong will be managed in the future, under the principle of "one state, two systems" that has been affirmed in an enlightened way by China, Hong Kong should in future give full play to the advantages and avoid the shortcomings of capitalist institutions. At the same time, it should adopt the advantages and avoid the shortcomings of socialist institutions.

The greatest advantage of the capitalist system is "freedom," and its greatest shortcoming is "exploitation." The greatest advantage of the socialist system is "equality," and its greatest shortcoming is "autocracy." The future management of Hong Kong should proceed along the broad road of freedom and equality. What accompanies it in passing should be minimal exploitation and minimal autocracy.

The new Hong Kong of the future, famous throughout the world, should be not merely a "free port" but also a Hong Kong with freedom and equality. From this, a tiny Hong Kong can contribute to the whole world a new system--a new system that is formed by capitalism and socialism. It may play a model role in the transformation of society as a whole.

If the resolution of the question of Hong Kong's future carries such long-range prospects, looking at the future and the past how can one know it is not a blessing? We had better feel relieved!

9586

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'CHENG MING'DISCUSSES POLICY DECISION ON HONG KONG

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 8, Aug 82 pp 20-21

[Article by Ch i Sun [2630 1327]: "Preliminary Comments on Communist China's Policy Decision on Hong Kong"]

[Text] First Appearance of Test Balloons

Communist China's policy decision of Hong Kong's future has finally shown prospects of a solution.

The July issue of CHENG MING stated the guidelines of the highest level in communist China in resolving the question of Hong Kong. We should say that it was a good thing. They have been made known so that people may know, discuss and provide opinions and proposals to communist China so that it can pool the wisdom of the masses and formulate a concrete plan that is in accordance with the principles of regaining Hong Kong's sovereignty, maintaining the present system, and maintaining economic prosperity.

It can be said that subjectively this has been a series of test balloons. Some time earlier senior leaders in communist China had repeatedly received some bigwigs from Hong Kong and in particular there had been a collective meeting with personages of leftist circles. They appeared to be collecting data from the balloons.

The 12-Character Truth

If we can say that the floating of these balloons above Hong Kong originally set off waves there, then on 16 July, Peng Zhen's [1756 4176] published talks, "Ardently hope that compatriots from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and overseas Chinese will exercise the holy right of becoming more involved in the discussion of the draft revision of the constitution" further promoted the role of balloons.

Peng Zhen's talks had aroused two different kinds of understanding that were antagonistic. Some people said the Article 30 of the draft which Peng Zhen wanted people to discuss, namely, "Establishing special administrative zones," dealt with Taiwan, was a legalization of the basic substance of Ye Jianying's [5509 0494 5391] 9-point policy toward Taiwan, and was the legal basis for the peaceful unification and establishment of the country. It was therefore clear,

explicit, and absolutely unambiguous, so what did it have to do with Hong Kong and Macao? But some people said, "Establishing special administrative zones" mentioned by Peng Zhen suits Hong Kong and Macao in the same way. Is the tentative idea of "one state, two systems" not a type of a special administrative zone? This is also clear, explicit, absolutely unambiguous, and is closely related to Hong Kong and Macao.

The agility, ingenuity, and infinite meanings of the language of our motherland are here proven once more. But even though both sides had their own reasoning, at the end everyone agreed with the 12-Character truth--respect history, respect reality, look forward to the future--is suitable for Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao. This is a principle in accord with reason and the theory of law, and is a feasible principle.

The Common Certainty

The question is: How do we implement these 12 characters? That is, how do we respect history and at the same time respect reality and benefit the future?

Because the great deadline of 1997 is drawing near, discussion on Hong Kong's future has been unceasing during the last few years. It can be seen, heard, touched and felt in newspapers and magazines, in streets and alleys, and in the words and deeds among people. In this month, the discussion has been even more like taking the lid off a pot of boiling water which is seething with unusual liveliness. This discussion will go on for a rather long period of time.

But whatever is the case, there is a common certainty and a common doubt among the absolute majority.

The common certainty is that Hong Kong's sovereignty should be taken back. This does not merely mean that the New Territories and the 200-odd islands under the 99-year lease should be taken back in 1997. No one is willing to give even verbal indication that things handed down from one's ancestors would not be taken back. Even Hong Kong Island and southern Kowloon which were ceded to British colonialists at that time should also be taken back. Similarly, no one denies that it was an unequal treaty and they should be taken back.

In other words, despite the variety of aims in different cases, taking back the sovereignty of Hong Kong, southern Kowloon and the New Territories is unanimous.

The Common Doubt

The common doubt is whether prosperity can be maintained when sovereignty is regained? More explicitly, many people do not believe that the present prosperity in Hong Kong can be continued after China takes back the sovereignty of Hong Kong, Kowloon, and the New Territories. Some people simply say that the two things are mutually contradictory and absolutely impossible, and even consider the hope to regain sovereignty and maintain prosperity a fantasy?

True, what communist China takes to heart is also this crucial point. How can it retake sovereignty and maintain prosperity? The guarantee it has put forth

is not to change the present system, permitting Hong Kong to continue to maintain a capitalist social system and permitting capitalism to develop in Hong Kong.

Making no change in the system, continue with your capitalism and make your money; you should feel relieved!

Perhaps in order to remove suspicion of the sincerity of the Communist Party, theoreticians and propaganda instruments in communist China are widely collecting proof and quotations from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, particularly Lenin's views on lease systems and others, as the basis. If they say that this theoretical work is performed to show the people of Hong Kong that we are believers in Marxism-Leninism, since Lenin has said such-and-such we will act accordingly; they might as well say that this work is done to show people in China how to avoid being labeled for practicing capitalism, tolerating capitalism, and even tolerating colonialism and imperialism. But whatever is the case, people find it hard to believe that communist China will sincerely implement two kinds of systems in a socialist state. Actually permitting capitalism to exist for a long time and continue to develop? No longer carry out socialism and communism? Will one day with the maturing of socialism, will a socialist transformation of capitalism come? Or, with political and military power alone, change can be made at will? How much time is given for capitalism to exist and develop?

It is therefore not a question of theoretical inquiry, textual criticism, or application, but the living reality of 30-odd years since the founding of new China which makes one feel bitterly disappointed, palpitate, and lose confidence. With the vivid memory of past events, people will not believe easily. Some people keep on suspecting communist China's sincerity--the wish to regain sovereignty and maintain prosperity--we do not have to look at it that way, but even if we believe in its sincerity, what can be used to guarantee that it can be done? There are just too many things that go contrary to one's wishes! Just these few years since the smashing of the gang of four, have not the advance and retreat, restriction and easing in domestic politics, economy, culture, the opening toward the outside world, and other aspects also made people hesitate and feel perturbed, suspicious and worried?

The Valuable 15 Years

What we can be glad about is that this is only the first release of balloons to test the temperature and the 12-character principle has only recently been put forward to find out about the people's opinion. Communist China is sincere in welcoming more rational proposals from people. Moreover, we can be happy that there are still 15 more years of room to maneuver.

Particularly important is that within these 15 years communist China's conduct at home, or the actual actions in politics, economy, culture, democracy, freedom, progress, and all aspects, will help or obstruct the correct and smooth resolution of this pointed subject of being able to regain sovereignty and maintain prosperity. If a great land of over 9 million square kilometers

becomes better every day, this pill-size land of 1,000 square kilometers will be easier to manage. If the economy of a billion people can really take the road of sound development, this goose that lays golden eggs and this home of 5 million people will lessen its weight. The 15 years time is valuable. In 15 years a lot of good things can be done, good things that change people's feelings and opinions. This is the basic point that deserves attention before concrete plans for resolution are discussed or when before there is a plan and it is being carried out.

9586

CS0: 4005/1218

PRC LEFTIST MAGAZINE CONTINUES TO HIT LIBERALIZATION

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 8, 1982 pp 48-50

[Article by Huai Ping [2037 0393]: "SHIDAI DI BAOGAO Finally Hits the Rocks"]

[Text] Beijing's WENYI BAO recently engaged in criticism of SHIDAI DI BAOGAO in two consecutive issues (No 5 and 6, 1982). This is a comical affair.

SHIDAI DI BAOGAO, which is edited by Yao Ershi [1202 0059 0013], Huang Gang [7806 6921], and others, has a special existence among the hundreds of publications in Communist China. Since its creation, this major publication, which boasts of "launching the picture scrolls of the times, depicting the person-ages of the times throbbing with the pulse of the times, and glorifying the ideals of the times" has manifested itself in every way as a daring ultra-leftist vanguard. In literary and art thinking, it considers itself an active defender of Mao Zedong Thought, and whenever those in power in Communist China oppose the "right," it often takes advantage of it to adopt the tricks of attacking and labeling those writers and artists who dare to assault the forbidden zones set up by Mao Zedong. Therefore, good-hearted writers and artists in Communist China have a deep-seated hatred for them and have given them the elegant names of "imperial guards" and "imperial scholars" (how precise these elegant names are). They have also launched a debate with them. Let us see how both sides contend.

The First Round in the Trial of Strength

In the summer of 1979, works opposing bureaucrats and special privilege appeared one after another, attacking the political system of Communist Chinese society. The faction in power, which had once promised democracy to writers and artists, could not permit this situation to continue to develop. Consequently, in early 1980 three associations, including the "Association of Chinese Playwrights," convened a joint "Conference on Playwriting" in Beijing which refuted "If I Were Real," "In the Files of Society," and "Female Thief," which had exposed the dark side of Chinese Communist society--reflecting the general tendency of the evil work of bureaucratic and privileged classes. They considered that these works "use sadness and pessimism to depict unhealthy phenomena of life in society," "are not in accord with the truth about the whole society, and may create slackness in the will to struggle among readers, particularly youths, and [may create] harmful effects that do not

"favor unity." The conference called on writers and artists to "stress the social consequences of literature and art" and to produce works that "benefit the raising of the socialist consciousness of the people and of youths." These quotations and Hu Yaobang's talks at the conference show that the refutation and the demand on writers are both mild and restrained.

However, Huang Gang and his kind seized this opportunity, and in the first issue of SHIDAI DI BAOGAO they released their hatred of the new realism after the downfall of the gang of four in [the article] "What Are the Questions Raised by 'In the Files of Society'?" written by a commentator of the magazine, and in a letter from a reader [entitled] "What Are These 'Files of Society'?" These items regard the 'files' as the reactionary thinking of "not guilty of propagating treason." The focus of struggle deals with the present political power and strong suspicions regarding the permanence of socialism because it is a full cartload of "dirty garbage." It entirely used the former method of "brutal struggle" [prevalent during] the period of the gang of four. The article says the same thing as "Praising Virtues and Lacking Virtues," published in HEBEI WENYI (edited by Tian Jian [3944 7035]) in June 1979, but the extent of its severity of tone goes even further. Their goal is to destroy [all] literature and art that are revealing. To revive Mao Zedong's literature and art, it must appear to eulogize someone's virtues and achievements, once again leading literature and art, which have already taken the broad road of realism, into a blind alley.

Fortunately, history cannot be reversed. The year 1980 was not the (anti-rightist) period of 1957 and not the (Cultural Revolution) period of 1966. Huang Gang's repressive manner and his intention to bury democracy in literature and art did not have its way because the demand in Communist China for freedom and democracy cannot be restrained. They will not allow Huang Gang and his kind to commit all kinds of outrages, so they publish articles one after another in support of the "Files." For instance, Yi Jun's [5669 6511] "Four Questions on 'In the Files of Society,'" published in the No 5 1980 issue of WENYI BAO, openly defended it by saying: "The 'Files' aroused intense sympathy among some readers primarily because it uses unusually fierce and shocking words that pointedly and daringly expose the main theme of anti-feudalism." "In opposing feudalism, particularly the fierce assault on special feudal privileges, the 'Files' reflect the wish of the broad masses of people." More important, of course, is the fact that the faction in power in Communist China also disagrees with such methods. On 9 July [1980], RENMIN RIBAO, under the name of its commentator, published "Sum Up Historical Experiences; Adhere to the Double-Hundred Policy." This considered that their method constituted "mistaking the nonessentials for the essentials" and "striking a deadly political blow against the opponent." Thus, SHIDAI DI BAOGAO was put in an extremely unfavorable position, and Huang Gang and his kind were placed in a situation in which "a rat running across the street gets everyone yelling, 'Kill it.'" Nos 7, 8, 9 and 11 of WENYI BAO successively published Zhon Jieren's [6650 0094 0086] "Where Did It Falter?--Concerning the Discussions on 'A Treatise on Essence'"; Du Gao's [2629 7559] and Cheng Gang's [7115 0474] "What Kind of Literary and Art Criticism Do We Need--Thoughts on Reading the

"Article by the Commentator of SHIDAI DI BAOGAO"; Chen Yi-nan's [7115 4135 0589] "Do Not Bring the Charge of Fictionalization"; as well as Wang Jowang's [3769 5387 2598] "Do Not Make an Empty Show of Strength"; as well as other articles. These articles spoke with the force of justice, criticizing and countering Huang Gang and his kind so that all they could do was to temporarily shut their mouths and cease all activities.

However, this did not mean that these ultraleftist elements had changed their nature and would never make trouble again. On the contrary, they were waiting for their chance and were ready to stage a comeback.

The Second Round in the Trial of Strength

Indeed, it happened as expected.

In the spring of 1981, the Party Central Committee in Communist China issued "Document No 7"--"Resolution concerning the present policy on propaganda by the press and news broadcasting," and began a movement against bourgeois liberalization. Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang personally initiated the criticism against "Unrequited Love" from the top. On 20 April, JIEFANGJUN BAO published a special commentator's "The Four Basic Principles Cannot Be Contravened--Critique of the Literary Movie Script of 'Unrequited Love.'" Closely following this, SHIDAI DI BAOGAO published a special supplement in its issue No 1 of 1981 which carried Huang Gang's masterful criticism of "unrequited Love." In addition, it published "unrequited Love" in its entirety for the purpose of criticizing it. No newspaper or periodical opposed bourgeois liberalization on such a scale and with all its might, and from the article one can recognize Huang Gang's high spirit and vigor. But because the criticism in the army newspaper met with the resistance of the masses, Huang Gang's residence was stoned and he became the victim of a false alarm. Although no real harm was done, he somewhat restrained himself. Subsequently, when the party administration and the army achieved an understanding on the question of criticism of "unrequited Love," criticism of bourgeois liberalization developed in an involved manner. In May of this year, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the publication of Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art," SHIDAI DI BAOGAO in this year's No 2 issue published a group of articles headed by "An Explanation by This Publication." The group of essays and this "Explanation" publicly refuted literature and art in Communist China after the downfall of the "gang of four." The substance of its refutation is as follows:

1. It refuted all works that exposed the dark side of Communist Chinese society. If Huang Gang and his kind had previously attacked individual works of this sort, things were entirely different now. For instance, they said: "After the smashing of the 'gang of four,' some people (writers who write literature that exposes) did not remove the pernicious influence spread by the 'gang of four,'" but instead treated the 'Talks' as rules and regulations that restrict thought and broke them (because the 'Talks' forbid the exposure of people and the new society). True, they broke through the so-called rules and regulations of the 'Talks,' but they themselves have fallen into the mire of bourgeois liberalization." ("A Trial Discussion of the Significance of the

"'Talks' in Liberating Thought," see SHIDAI DI BAOGAO, No 2, 1982, p 81. This was also quoted in "An Explanation by This Publication.") The attitude of comprehensive refutation of "literature that exposes" (or "literature of scars") by Huang Gang and his kind did not begin with this issue. In the No 1 issue of this year, Huang's "Reviewing the Transcript of Poems on Tian'anmen" had already made it very dear. He said: "In the short poem 'Sharpen the Sword of Battle a Few More Times' (one of the poems in "Transcript of Poems on Tian'anmen'), its terse language is completely that of the 'literature of scars' that followed the smashing of the 'gang of four'--it is lengthy, tedious, and endless, but it has been regarded as the best and was in fashion for a time. It collectively represents the world view of revolutionaries in their fight: 'Go wipe the tears from the corner of your eyes'; this does not show off 'scars' as one's forte but takes the 'final assault' as one's responsibility." In this way, Huang Gang's revengeful and hostile mentality toward literature that exposes fully reveals itself.

2. Precisely because Huang Gang and his kind insisted that literature and art must follow the tenets formulated by Mao Zedong, which call for eulogizing someone's virtues and achievements, naturally they hold an attitude of strong disdain and intolerance toward that literature and art in Communist China whose mainstream in the past 6 years has been to break through these tenets, and naturally they comprehensively refuted the literary and art policy that created such literature and art. In "An Explanation by This Publication" they said: "In the 16 years since the 'Cultural Revolution,' the 'Talks' have been distorted and altered by the 'right' and the left." Such an argument, which puts the 10 years of literature and art of the "Cultural Revolution" on the same scale as those of the 6 years after the smashing of the "gang of four" and criticizes them equally, naturally stung the personages in literary and art circles in Communist China. More importantly, it stung those in power who had formulated this literature and art policy.

Finally, It Hits the Rocks

As a result, SHIDAI DI BAOGAO hit the rocks.

The No 5 issue of WENYI BAO published a differing opinion toward SHIDAI DI BAOGAO's "An Explanation by This Publication"--[an opinion] held by some of the people in the periodical editorial department subordinate to the Writers Union of Anhui Province. The subject was "A question of principle that deserves attention." It pointed out: 1) "16 years" is a new and strange formulation which has never been mentioned in the documents of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and in the talks by people in charge of the Central Committee. Therefore, this formulation is not in accord with the "law." 2) The decade of the Cultural Revolution and the years after the downfall of the "gang of four" (particularly the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee at the end of 1978) are two completely different historical periods. Obliterating the basic boundary of these two periods is in reality obliterating the great significance of the Third Plenary Session as a turning point in the history of the party and state. This actually means obliterating the historical achievements of those in power in Communist China. In fact, judging from its words and deeds, if we carefully observe the actions

of SHIDAI DI BAOGAO since its creation, we can tell that its criticism of the "left" is faked and that its criticism of the right is real. In the mind of those editors, during the period of the decade of turmoil Mao's revolutionary line was truly practices, while the past 6 years were a rebellion against Mao's line. Indeed, not even death can atone the guilt of the crime! That is why in the No 2 issue of WENYI BAO, Xing Xu's [1630 2485] article "Was There No Difference for '16 Years'?--A Critique of 'An Explanation by This Publication' in SHIDAI DI BAOGAO" put it well: "The true substance of this argument of 'no difference for 16 years' is the even-tempered and good-natured attitude toward Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,' and the bitter hatred among the people."

Detested by the people and dissatisfied by the faction in power, Huang Gang and his kind have once again become the "rat" that crosses the street, making everyone yell: 'Kill it.'

Obviously, the criticism in WENYI BAO was carried out with the approval of those in power. Considering the ultraleftist influence in Communist China is still very strong, every step taken by the faction in power under Hu and Deng is greatly impeded. Compared to the opposition against bourgeois liberalization, this criticism has been greatly restrained. For example, after analyzing and criticizing "An Explanation by This Publication," the article "A Question of Principle That Deserves Attention" added the following appendage: "If everyone believes that we disagree with the several formulations in 'An Explanation by This Publication' in SHIDAI DI BAOGAO, and that this constitutes a difference in internal ideological viewpoints among the people, we can resolve it through the method of contention." When your opponent treats you as an enemy and beats you up unreasonably, you still say with a kind and pleasant countenance: "No, we are old pals." This is toally ridiculous.

For 40 years, guided by the theory that the "left" is always better than the "right," the people have suffered all forms of hardship, and the truth has never gained ground. Those such as Bai Hua [4101 2901], Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395], and Wang Jowang, who are at present criticized for their support of "bourgeois liberalization," are in fact active supporters of the pragmatist line of the Deng-Hu faction, while Huang Gang and his kind are people who always want to revive the pro-leftist line and once again tread on the intellectuals, who have suffered all kinds of miseries. It is therefore reasonable that the enemy and oneself are clearly distinguishable. But those people who allow the "four adherences" to confuse them still cannot make that distinction.

"An Explanation by This Publication" and the other strange articles have sounded the alarm for those in power in Communist China: Beware of leftist influence, which will ultimately devour you if you stubbornly continue to oppose bourgeois liberalization.

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CCP LITERARY INCLINATIONS CRITICIZED

Hong Kong CHISHI NIENTAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 82 pp 72-74

[Article by Mu Fu [3668 1133]: "Current Chinese Communist Official Literary Inclinations"]

[Text] At the start of the summer every year, the Chinese literary world is a picture of festivity because it was at this time of the year that Mao Zedong gave his talks on literature at Yenan. This year is the 40th anniversary of the talks and, under the call for upholding Mao Zedong Thought, there must naturally be a series of colorful commemorative activities. The eye-catching thing was that on the 23d of May, 15 letters from Mao Zedong to members of the literary world and of speech by Chen Yun [7115 7189] concerning literary work were published. These are pre-1949 historical materials. Their release was followed by the convening on 19 June of the second session of the fourth full committee of the All China Federation of Writers. This meeting which had been postponed for 1 year and which lasted 7 days was for the purpose of summarizing experiences, discussing the "Ten Articles on Literature" (not yet released) and drawing up a "convention." From beginning to end the theme of "adhering to the party's guiding ideology and policy on literature," was emphasized throughout the meeting. Ba Jin [1572 6855], the chairman of the Writers Union, "was on leave" and Bai Hua [4101 2901] also did not attend because he was "delving into life."

This literary season has now passed and has left one with the impression of having been "routine business," and yet has concisely expressed the kind of literary situation that present Chinese communist officialdom wishes to portray. In analyzing the effort which they believe to be right, we can see that it cannot solve the problems they face.

The Subtle Attitude Toward Mao Zedong's Literary Thought

The Chinese communist literary world has been called a "disaster area." Thirty years of brutal contention has taken its toll, creating a kind of hell. At the Fourth Writers Congress in 1980, those writers and artists fortunate enough to have survived faced one another silently. Their hearts were scarred with pain. Of course, these talented, intelligent people understood the roots of the tremendous disaster that had befallen the Chinese literary world. Although very

few people dared to criticize the literary thought of Mao Zedong, the adulation and praise in immediate response to a call that poured forth in the past is no longer possible, except in the case of a handful of leftover supporters of Huang Gang [7806 6921]. The writing and debate in the literary world over the past 2 years can essentially be summed up as having focused on whether or not to shake off the fetters of the literary thought of Mao Zedong. Recently, we have continued to see somewhat vague differences of opinion.

In his opening remarks at the full committee session of the Federation of Writers, Xia Yan [1115 5888], a veteran writer whose legs had been broken by the Red Guards, denounced "bourgeois liberalization" as "not really being new goods, but an import from the time when old China had reduced to the status of a colony." He denounced the "Western world" for "trying to peddle the so-called 'freedom' and 'democracy,' and profit-seeking individualism," but not even once did he mention the "literary thought of Mao Zedong." He emphasized that "we have learned lessons from our mistakes and setbacks, and therefore we know how to think with our own minds." When the meeting concluded, RENMIN RIBAO printed a commentator's article with a rather significant title: "Literary Workers Must Enhance Theoretical Study," in which the phrase Mao Zedong Literary Thought" was also avoided.

In order to clarify an unavoidable matter, they called out Zhou Yang [0719 2254], the authority on literary theory, to evaluate and explain things. They issued his speech dealing specifically with the literary thought of Mao Zedong entitled "First Uphold and Second Develop." Zhou Yang is a first rate debater and used the method of eclecticism ingeniously to uphold "principle" while avoiding offending his audience. He did not mention the concrete literary modes of eulogizing and exposing which cause revulsion in people, but spoke at length on the abstract notion of not splitting the literary thought of Mao Zedong from Marxism-Leninism and traditional culture. He left out hackneyed expressions concerning service objectives and politics. He pointed out the need to both criticize and protect writers.

The issuing of the letters written by Mao Zedong between 1939 and 1949 is a full indication that the Chinese communists want to restore Mao's prestige in the area of literature and forcefully plan to portray him as a friend and guide of writers. There is no doubt that prior to seizing power, Mao was courteous or and respectful to writers. In his letters, Mao claimed to "get along well" with writers and treated them with consideration. Toward Guo Moruo [6753 3106 5387] and Liu Yazi [2692 0068 1311], who were renowned in their time, he maintained an even more unassuming brotherly attitude, as if afraid of not being respectful enough. Matters would have been left at this if the letters hadn't been issued. But this disclosure gave people a handle for comparison, and reminded people of the old saying that monarchs throughout the ages shared their fears and difficulties with their ministers, but not their enjoyment. Were not Xiao Jun [5618 6511] and Ding Ling [0002 3781] who deferred respectfully to his wishes personally chastized nearly to death by Mao? In January 1957, at the All China Provincial and Municipal Party Committee Secretary Conference, Mao said, "It is not enough to execute, imprison or discipline the likes of Xiao Jun and Ding Ling. We must expose the stink of their many faults to society." Why did they not bring out some of his post-Liberation letters to show his friendly feeling for writers?

At the same time a 1943 speech by Chen Yun was published with the obvious intention of using the reformist veteran's prestige to lecture the rebellious literary workers. In his speech, Chen Yun criticized the "peculiarity" and "arrogance" of literary workers. He claimed that he himself "spoke only of his faults" and requested that men in the cultural fields "first view themselves as communist party members," and adhere to discipline. He even stressed "obedience to the level above your own, even if the men there are weaker than yourself, because if we cannot accomplish this, our party will collapse." On the battlefield, absolute obedience" is a must. I'm sure that the Chinese communists relied on this in taking on the world. Today, 40 years later, can this kind of obedience be expected in dealing with literary issues in the ideological realm? Furthermore, the crux of Chinese communist literary problems today is absolutely not the arrogance and peculiarity of the men of letters. It is the question of what attitude should be maintained toward social reform or, to use the words of Mao in his talks on literature, "the question of stand." In other words, in criticizing Mao, writers and readers have taken a different stand from bureaucrats who cling conservatively to the interests of their privileged stratum. If Chinese communist officialdom cannot learn from 30 years of painful lessons the real cause of their sickness, it will remain impossible for them to get literary creation to proceed in an atmosphere "free of dark clouds and frost."

An Ultra-Leftist Slogan

Recently, the slogan "writers and artists should first be revolutionaries" was continually used in Chinese communist criticism and demands of writers. Many people elaborated and praised this, believing it to be the "highest glory" of literary workers.

This phrase was brought out by Deng Yingchao [6772 7336 6389]. We have great respect for the widow of the late Chinese premier, but dare not show equal respect for this slogan and must point out that it is harmful because of its extremely leftist nature.

It reminds one first of Stalin's well-known dictum: "Writers are the engineers of human soul."

For the moment, I will not discuss the state of Soviet respect for writers, but rather wish only to examine this dictum from a materialist perspective to see if it has any flaws. This dictum clearly implies that the consciousness of mankind (including thought, emotions, "soul") can be created by man, and this violates the principle that "existence determines consciousness." Although consciousness has its countereffect on existence, this countereffect is conditional and the two propositions are not equivalent in the sense of a theorem and its converse. More importantly, this line of Stalin's is different from an exalted commendation of a critic. Stalin, who has always been called strictly logical, had the authority that made "one line equal to 10,000." In fact, once this line was issued, it not only brought special honor to writers. It also became standard support for using literature as a tool of propaganda and education, with the result that literature degenerated into an obsequious servant of politics.

In the past, China used Stalin's methods of demanding writers to become "docile tools" of the party and to "serve proletarian politics." Any good work that failed to extol heroes and the bright side of life, that unveiled the dark side of things or that had a unique style was always rejected and criticized.

Now, the slogan of Deng Yingchao truly displays the subtlety of a different tune played for the same effect, albeit farther to the left and more deviant. Because in the past when demands were made for writers to become more revolutionary, it was only a call for them to be "proletarian warriors" and "actors in the revolution." They were never asked to become "revolutionaries." Even the average party cadre was not required to become a "specialist" in revolution. The artistic troops are scattered throughout the land and are of complicated and differing characters. It is already difficult to find any who can revolt or can "be loyal to the party." Where does such high revolutionary value come from? What's more, can a true revolutionary, not one merely in name hold two jobs concurrently? Even if one demands this to exist symbolically, one cannot free himself of the suspicion of degrading revolutionaries. How can this not damage the dignity of this revolutionary nation?

I believe that the appearance of this slogan is the result of the pernicious influence of the already rejected ideological reform movement that required writers to "remold themselves completely." It exposes the mistaken essence of the present policy of severe criticism on "liberalization." This slogan not only cannot be realized, but will lead the country farther to the left--a harmful political development. One can be assured that this development will eventually be abandoned.

Lopsided Literary and Artistic Criticism

I have always thought that literary debate and criticism were unavoidable and beneficial, but that they should be carried out under fair and just conditions, guaranteeing the right of counter criticism. Mass communication channels should make it easy to publish those works that have been criticized and the articles countering that criticism. Party and government leaders should not interfere with this kind of proper literary criticism, nor should they draw mandatory conclusions.

Can it be that China's lessons in this regard have not been painful enough? If Mao Zedong and Kang Sheng [1660 3932] had not been so dominant at the time and had allowed Deng Duo [6772 2148], Peng Zhen [1756 4176], and Liu Shaoqi [0491 1421 1142] to make counter criticisms, couldn't that unprecedented catastrophe have been avoided? Why must we always follow the path that rulers have followed throughout history: once one assumed power, no one else was allowed to speak. It is truly inexplicable.

This is precisely the situation at present. Exceptions have been very few. For example, not long ago a rival show emerged on the criticism of the award winning movie "The Legend of Tian Yun Mountain." But no rebuttal of the criticism directed by the Central Committee of the party was permitted. Only examination was permitted, and based on experience it is difficult for people not to feel that the examinations were written up under pressure. When will China truly be able to divert the wisdom and energy wasted on these large-scale farces to four modernizations?

In addition, adopting sanctions at every turn has been a bad habit in carrying out literary criticisms. People overseas have long felt that certain Chinese communist leaders have suffered from a congenital neuroticism, jumping at the slightest sounds and seeing enemies everywhere, as if a single novel could immediately plunge the world into chaos and change the lay of the land, while in fact the thing truly causing trouble and spreading reactionary effects is just this petty style of leadership. A fresh example is the recent criticism of the novel "Spring Fairy Tale" by the authoress Yu Luojin [6657 5012 6930]. Since HUA CHENG [5363 1004][FLOWER WALL] is not a journal published in Hong Kong there is good reason to believe that the editorial department of their journal is under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party members. That this novel which was suppressed for nearly a year could be printed indicates that it must have some value, or at least the matter is worth debating. But when the criticism had just begun, that issue of the journal containing the story was recalled and sale was prohibited with the result that its impact was heightened. As I understand it, lovers of literature both at home and abroad are all presently searching for this HUA CHENG which had already been sold as eagerly as stamp collectors pursue flawed stamps. How big is this problem really? I have heard that the reaction of the youth within the country is typical, and they all feel that it is a case of "great alarm about nothing." For example, the image of He Jing [0149 0403] [a leading character of "Spring Fairy Tale"], who was condemned by critics, was an ideologically liberated, outstanding cadre and therefore could not possibly display any ugly and vicious behavior in his personal life. This notion is evidently the influence of the "three prominences" [a principle for artistic and literary creation advocated by Jiang Qing]. Who believes in such a thing today? The question is whether cadres who commit economic crimes definitely have problems politically or if cadres who are correct in their political line will ever commit economic crimes. If they can, then why can't cadres who are politically correct have problems in their personal lives?

In sum, from the criticism since the antiliberalism movement, one can see that some among the Chinese communist leadership are still pursuing an unrealistic, utopian world in which everyone behaves according to prescribed rules, just like schoolchildren. Is this possible?

An Unchecked Spread of Pledges

Counselors in Zhong Nanhai feel that this is possible. As a result, in recent years we have seen the spread in China of an unprecedented movement to elicit pledges. From prominent scientists to innocent, childish Young Pioneers, all earnestly draw up succinct and very general pledges. Artists with their disorganized natures naturally are not exempt from making these moral pledges. This meeting of the Federation of Writers earnestly and "unanimously passed" an eight-article pledge of roughly 500 words, covering points from "love of the motherland and loyalty to the people" to "being a promoter of progress among the socialist literary troops." Politics, ideology, morality and art were all fully covered.

I truly do not understand what they are doing with this formalist decoration. Will these top notch artists with years of tough experience, who are versed in

the ways of the world, still swallow this? How is this basically different from "reading Chairman Mao's book and listening to Chairman Mao's words" everyday during the 1960's?

Perhaps the Chinese have their own unique conception of how to rule the state. Is their ideal of building a modern society ruled by law one that can be achieved by relying on these sorts of "social contracts," and can succeed by everyone having standards to rely on?

The fear of Western culture which has accompanied the policy of opening up to the outside world is perhaps real. Now, from top to bottom everyone is warning of the need to unite in resistance to the encroachment of Western bourgeois culture. The communists are quite proficient with the abacuses. In their exchange with capitalism, they hope for a net gain and don't want to have to suffer any loss. But, do such bargains exist in the world? Shadows must accompany the sunlight, so how could it be that capitalist science and technology and management methods, and capital itself, would not produce their effects on ideology? Japanese aid in building a vinylon plant with 100,000 tons annual production is, in truth, a far greater threat to communism than American James Bond movies and bikinis.

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GOVERNMENT WEIGHS PURCHASE OF WEST GERMAN, U.S. ANTITANK HELICOPTERS

Taipei LIEH-HO PAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 3

[Article: "Dispersion of Arms Purchases by Our Country Evokes Strong Response From European and American Firms! Three Good-Performance Antitank, Antiland- ing Helicopters Demonstrated and Tested in Southern Part of Country, Meet Operational Requirements"]

[Text] Taipei--According to disclosures by two members of a relevant unit, many European and American aircraft companies are now willing to sell to our country armed helicopters to use against tanks and seaborne landings, and the govern- ment is considering buying from three of the companies. This development is one of the enthusiastic responses by European and American companies to the announcement by the relevant unit that our country would disperse its purchas- ing sources for weapons.

A foreign arms sales representative has pointed out that the sale of antitank helicopters does not possess the "sensitive nature" that selling the "FX" fighter did, and that with the competitive market it is not too likely that the sale will be subjected to political influence within the countries. The armed helicopters do not have the capacity to cross the sea and attack and are purely defensive weapons.

He indicated that since military sales between the United States and the Republic of China have been obstructed by the Chinese communists, the Republic of China has become an object for which the munitions merchants of many countries strive.

The three aircraft firms and the helicopter models that the government is now considering are: the U.S. Bell Aircraft Company's "Bell 212," the U.S. Hughes Company's "Hughes 500 MD/TOW," and the West German MBB Company's "BO-105." The Bell Company once produced in cooperation with our country the "UH1H" transport helicopter, and the Hughes Company once sold to our country the "Hughes 500 MD" antisubmarine helicopter used by the navy's destroyers.

A few days ago, the three armed helicopters underwent a performance demonstra- tion at a base in southern Taiwan, and it is understood that the operational performance of the three helicopter models met our army's demands.

According to what has been disclosed, of the three models, the West German "BO-105's" selling price is fairly high and the "Bell 212" has not yet been used in actual warfare. Therefore, it is very possible that the government will choose the "Hughes 500 MD/TOW," which had such brilliant military successes in the Vietnam War.

A military expert has stated that Taiwan, with regard to strategy, belongs to an island-type defense system and that it must possess a mobile, extremely strong air strike force. After the new-type antilanding or antitank helicopters receive their operational orders, they can immediately carry missiles to the enemy's landing point, destroying the enemy's warships or the tanks and vehicles he has already landed; after firing all their weapons, they can be refueled and refitted with missiles at predesignated supply platforms or strong-points and once again go on the attack.

(Special dispatch from staff reporter Jin Zhaofu) The three models of light antitank helicopters built in Europe and America that the government is considering purchasing, when demonstrated at a certain base in the southern part of the county a few days ago, showed their special properties. It is understood that the relevant unit is now carefully selecting the helicopter model most suited to our requirements.

The "BO-105," manufactured by West Germany, is an antitank helicopter that is fast, light and easy to handle, and highly mobile. It can carry six "HOT" missiles and is now one of the main antitank forces of the West German Army. It has two 424-hp engines, its top speed is 270 km per hour, its cruising range is 656 km, and it can carry a crew of five. The performance of this product of West Germany's MBB Company is quite good, but because its selling price is fairly high and the missile it uses is not one manufactured by our country, there is a fairly low probability that it will be chosen by our government.

The "Bell 212", produced by the Bell Aircraft Company of the United States (already used by the U.S. Army under the serial number "UH1N"), resembles the foreign-type "UH1H" helicopter used by our army.

It has two 94-hp engines, its top speed is 259 km per hour, and its cruising range is 420 km. The Bell Company once cooperated with our country to produce a transport helicopter, but because the "Bell 212" has not yet had experience in actual combat and also because this company is cooperating with the Chinese communists in producing this helicopter model, it is hard to predict that it will be chosen.

According to disclosures, at present the helicopter most likely to be chosen is the "Hughes 500 MD/TOW" produced by the Hughes Aircraft Company. It is of the same series of antisubmarine helicopters used by the navy and is easy to train with and perform maintenance on. Its main armament is four "TOW" missiles, and when necessary it can be additionally equipped with a six-barrel Vulcan machinegun. This helicopter can fly close to the ground, it makes little noise, and is excellent for surprise attacks. During the Vietnam War it destroyed a large number of Viet Cong tanks. It has two jet holes that disperse hot air so that it can avoid being hit by shoulder-fired heat-seeking missiles. Its top speed is 282 km per hour and its cruising range is 579 km.

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